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THE BULWUNTNAMAH:

TRANSLATED FROM THE

TUHFA-I-TAZA OF FAKIR KHAIR-UD-DIN KHAN,

BY

FREDERICK CURWEN.

ALLAHABAD:

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1875.

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THE BULWUNTNAMAH.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND BIRTH-PLACE OF RAJAH MUNSARAM, AND OF HIS FATHER AND BROTHER.

It is related that in the time of Rajah Banar there lived in a village called Otataria, six miles from Benares, a pious brahmin, named Kuthoo Misr, who spent day and night at his devotions, and discarded completely all consideration of worldly affairs. The Rajah was very desirous of doing some kindness to Kuthoo, who, however, steadily declined all the Rajah's offers. One day, the Rajah having made out a deed of gift of some rent-free land in favour of the brahmin, took an opportunity of tying it up in the end of Kuthoo's turban without his knowledge. On Kuthoo's return to his house he was dismayed at a worldly odour which arose from his body and clothes, and after much search for the cause, discovered the paper concealed in his turban. Becoming very angry, he declared that as the Rajah had succeeded in entangling him in the concerns of this world, altogether against his desire, the Rajah's government of Benares would pass from him to his, Kuthoo's, sons. And it fell out that in 420 Hijree, Salar Masrood Ghazee, by order of Sultan Mahomed Ghaznawee, attacked Rajah Banar and devastated his whole country. The Rajah took refuge in his fort at Benares, in which he was besieged; and finally the fort was taken by the army under Husen Sai, and the Rajah slain. Meanwhile the sons of Kuthoo Misr, who were aware of good fortune to them impending in these changes, placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the Mahomedan rules, and by diligent service rose daily into greater favour.

In the reign of Bahadoor Shah, the zemindars of the eastern districts, finding their opportunity in the disturbed state of the

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empire, rose in rebellion, refused payment of revenue, and began to follow the trade of robbers. The zemindars of Jakhini, a division of Pergunnah Ruswar, who were men of station and dignity, remembering their ancestor's prophecy, began to entertain thoughts of assuming the government of the country, and, as a commencement, turned out the imperial officials from Benares, and took to highway robbery. At length, in the reign of Faruk Sair, Nawab Munowur Khan was sent with a large army and many guns to punish the rebels. The Nawab attacked and defeated the rebel forces with great slaughter. Those who persisted in their rebellion were buried alive, while those who submitted were pardoned and rewarded. It was the custom in Mahomedan armies to take the women and children as prisoners, and a Resaldar, by name Sheikh Mangli, at that time captured a boy from among the rebels, and having no son of his own, adopted him, giving him the name of Kabul Mahomed

In the commencement of the reign of Mahomed Shah, the provinces of Benares, Jounpoor, Ghazeepoor, and Chunar were conferred as jagheer on Nawab Moortuza Khan, and produced him a yearly revenue of five lakhs of rupees. In these surkars, Futteh Sing, zemindar of Jakhini, Berisal Sing and Dureaoo Sing, zemindars of Majhowa, held the highest place among the Resaldars, and paid their revenue regularly. At the same time Mutrunjun Sing, another of the descendants of Kuthoo Misr, lived in Ootataria, and, contrary to the desire of his brothers, gained his livelihood after his own fashion by agriculture. Mutrunjun had four sons, the eldest Munsaram, the second Dasaram, the third Mayaram, and the youngest Dayaram. Rajah Munsaram, the eldest, seeing the authority and dignity of his kinsmen, furnished himself with a suitable outfit and retinue, and with the idea of obtaining employment at Court, came to Benares and obtained an interview with Meer Roostum Alee Khan, who, being anxious to find a man of Munsaram's character, loaded him with favours, and retained him among his personal attendants. Speedily Munsaram rose to be the actual ruler of the four surkars, Roostum Alee merely retaining the name of Governor, and, as a further mark of his esteem, he solicited from the Emperor Mahomed Shah, through Moortuza Khan, that the titles of Rajah Bahadoor should be conferred upon Munsaram. He, however,

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had a higher ambition, and declining these honors for himself, begged they might be granted to his son, which favour Roostum Alee procured for him, and Bulwunt Sing, whom he liked even more than his father, became Rajah Bahadoor, and father and son managed all affairs as they thought best.

Baboo Dusaram, brother of Rajah Munsaram, and by him appointed Governor of Sheopoor and Kuttehur, having fallen under suspicion of misconduct, was expelled from his post by Rajah Bulwunt Sing when he came into authority; but after a long suspension was restored to his appointment, when he was killed by the Rughobunsee zemindars, near Chundrowtee, leaving three sons at his death. The eldest was Jyejeet Sing, the second Chet Sing, and the youngest Zalum Sing. Jyejeet Sing, at his death, left one son, Jugut Sing, who, after the flight of Rajah Chet Sing, submitted to the Company, and paid his revenue to them, remaining in attendance upon the Resident at Benares. Three years previous to this he had joined Wazeer Alee in his plot. The arrest of Wazir Alee, and the whole history of what then happened is set forth in the fifth chapter. Both his uncles Chet Sing and Zalum Sing were then living in Benares.

Baboo Mayaram, the third brother (of Munsaram) had one son, Surnam Sing, a high-spirited young man, who cared nothing for Rajah Bulwunt Sing, and even sought how he might kill him. Bulwunt Sing, suspecting his intentions, sent a force to seize him. Surnam Sing, considering discretion the better part of valour, fled to Bengal to Nawab Suraj-ood-dowla, where he collected some followers. After the death of the Nawab, when Meer Jaffer Khan became Ameer, Surnam saw it was not safe for him to remain any longer in Bengal, and started thence with the intention of going to Benares; but on account of the ill-feeling against him held by Rajah Bulwunt Sing, he himself took up his residence in Beerpoor Narayanpoor, belonging to Ghazeepoor and near Mohumdabad, in the Jadmagri country, and sent his two sons, Dirgbijye Sing and Jugurdeo Sing, to the Rajah. The Rajah treated the children as if they were his own, making over to them for their maintenance Pergunnahs Shadiabad and Zafurabad, and during his lifetime and in Rajah Chet Sing's time they lived in dignity and

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opulence. Dirgbijye Sing died during Rajah Chet Sing's reign, leaving one son, Roop Sing, and Jugurdeo Sing died after having been made Naib by Rajah Ooditnarayan Sing. Baboo Dayaram, the youngest brother (of Munsaram), had one son, Mihrban Sing, who died in Rajah Chet Sing's time, leaving five sons, namely, Muniar Sing, Nihal Sing, Shewumbur Sing, Shewnarayun Sing, and Kalandur Sing. Rajah Bulwunt Sing had great affection for Muniar Sing from his childhood, and educated him as if he were his son. Muniar lived to the end of Rajah Chet Sing's reign, and when the Rajah rose in rebellion against the Governor-General, Muniar Sing died of grief and vexation at Lateefpoor, leaving three sons, Nunkoo Sing, Pertab Sing, and Asman Sing. When Rajah Chet Sing, after his rebellion, announced his intention of flying to the Deccan, the three brothers left him, and returned to Benares. Nunkoo Sing died during the deputyship (neabut) of Juggurdeo Sing. Neal Sing and Shewumber Sing died after having been for a short time in possession of Pergunnah Kadun. Pertab Sing and Asman Sing still survive. We now return to Baboo Futteh Sing, mentioned some time back, the zemindar of Jakhini.

Previous to the advent at the Court of Meer Roostum Alee Khan of Munsaram, none had held a higher rank (than Futteh Sing), but after the arrival of Munsaram, seeing the steady friendship felt towards the latter by Roostum Alee, and not feeling himself equal to open hostility, he, by means of Sheikh Kabul Mahomed, entered into friendly relations with Munsaram, and after living in honour for a length of time, died at the end of Rajah Bulwunt Sing's reign, leaving three sons, namely, Ramrooeth, Ramhit, and Ramnarayan. Rajah Bulwunt Sing had conferred the government of Pergunnah Bhugwut upon Ramhit, and it fell out that when coming from his district he had reached Chunar Fort, a quarrel arose between his followers and those of Meer Saadudin Khan, the Killadar. Some men on both sides were wounded, and Ramhit, seeing his followers were being worsted, leaped his horse into the river pursued by the Killadar's followers, and had just reached the opposite bank when he was shot dead by one of them. Ramnarayan also fell in this engagement (or died at this time). Ramrooeth lived to the end of Rajah Bulwunt Sing's reign, and left three sons, Bhoopnarayan,

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Hemnarayan, and Duljeet Sing. Bhoopnarayan died, leaving one son, Shewmanog Sing, who is now living in Jakhini. Hem Sing died childless, and Duljeet Sing became possessed of his ancestral zemindaree. After two years, being in debt for money lent him by Jeetungeer Goshaeen, he was summoned from his pergunnah by order of the Collector of Jounpore to appear in Court, and, having appeared, was imprisoned for non-payment. It is incredible that such an honorable and respectable man could so ruin himself for a small sum of money.

Berisal Sing and Dureaoo Sing, the zemindars of Majhowa, held a high position at the Court of Meer Roostum Alee Khan, as vassals doing military service, but during the time when Rajah Munsaram was in favour with Roostum Alee, they most foolishly and ignorantly refused to acknowledge his authority. Nay, on the contrary, they took every opportunity of insulting him, and derided Futteh Sing for his subservience. Rajah Munsaram was by no means disposed to overlook this insolence, and by continual accusations and complaints completely estranged Roostum Alee from them. The two brothers seeing how the wind blew, retired to their homes at Majhowa; and, with a view to their own safety, gathered together their friends and followers, and made overtures to Futteh Sing to join them. This he refused to do, and the brothers, in revenge, plundered some of the villages in his zemindaree, taking two forts, turning out his amils, and killing the garrisons.

Futteh Sing, hearing of these things, was much perplexed, and informed Munsaram that it was only on account of the friendship he bore him that Berisal had thus injured him, that he was helpless, and that unless Munsaram would assist him in punishing the brothers, he would join them and attack him.

Munsaram was doubtful of Futteh Sing, and weighed in his mind the chances of Futteh Sing's deserting him in battle, in which case he would be hardly able to hold his own against the brothers. However, Baboo Ramrooet, who was at the Court as representative of his father, having discovered Munsaram's doubts and fears, promised to assist him, and thus rendered him secure; and Roostum Alee being then in a tour through his government, and stopping in the Fort of Ghazeepore, Munsaram took the opportunity of his absence,

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summoned the neighbouring zemindars to his assistance, and attacked the two brothers, who opposed him with a large army. For a short time the contending parties fought with matchlocks and bows and arrows, and many were wounded on both sides, until the army of Berisal, throwing away guns and bows, fought sword in hand, and drove back Munsaram's forces almost into another route. Luckily at this moment Roostum Alee arrived and rallied the retreating army for a fresh effort, at which Berisal's soldiers, notwithstanding their first success, began to give way. Berisal and Dureaoo being alarmed at the turn the fight was taking, the latter proposed flight, but Berisal demanding if he would preserve his life by cowardice, both brothers charged straight at Rajah Munsaram, and fought till they fell dead from their horses.

Beni Sing, son of Berisal, and Shewbux, son of Dureaoo, after their father's death, fled from the field towards Pergunnah Bettiah, whence they joined Alee Kooly Khan, Nazim of Chaukhundee and other mehals of Allahabad, in the hostilities he was carrying on against Rajah Bulwunt Sing. During these Shewbux Sing was killed and Beni Sing returned to his home, where he died, leaving one son, Pahlwan Sing, who married Goordut Sing to the daughter of Baboo Ajaib Sing, and by this means was enabled to come to Benares during the time Ajaib Sing held office as Naib. Ajaib Sing made over Pergunnah Majhowa as a provision for his son-in-law, Goordut, who, however, found himself unable to pay the revenue. Baboo Pahlwan Sing then joined him, but he too, after attaining relationship with Rajah Muheepnarayan Sing by the marriage of his granddaughter to Rajah Ooditnarayan Bahadoor, at which time there was a deficiency of 20,000 rupees in the revenue of the pergunnah, resigned it to the officials of the Rajah. All these circumstances, however, will be given more fully in the chapters relating to the reign of Rajah Muheepnarayan Bahadoor and of Rajah Ooditnarayan Bahadoor.

How Rajah Munsaram obtained possession of the fort of Mureahoo is now to be related.

Bikramajeet, the zemindar of Mureahoo, was an old friend of Meer Rostum Alee Khan, and consequently took no pains to ingratiate himself with Munsaram, who, on his side, awaited an oppor-

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tunity of taking revenge for the slight put upon him. In 1149 Hijree Roostum Alee Khan was deputed by Nawab Roshun-ool-moolk to chastise the zemindars of Pergunnah Chowrasee, Surkar Terhur, in the Subah of Allahabad, and Bikramajeet with his followers joined in the expedition. The zemindars of Chowrasee at first thought of absconding, but Rajah Munsaram, whose great desire was to bring Bikramajeet to shame and ruin, secretly sent them word to hold their ground, and that he would see that they did not suffer. On the other hand Roostum Alee had no wish to fight them just then. Munsaram then instructed his son Bulwunt Sing, who was a favourite of Roostum Alee, to feign discontent, and a desire to leave the Court, preparing himself to accompany him. Roostum Alee asked the cause of their proceedings, when Munsaram replied that his son had seen the fort of Mureahoo and desired to obtain it; that unless it was given him, he, with all his followers, would depart; that he, Munsaram, would then be alone and powerless. Roostum Alee, who wanted their aid against his enemies, would not allow Munsaram or his son to depart, and sending for Bikramajeet, made known to him Munsaram's demand, asking that until affairs were settled with the Chowrasee zemindars, the fort should be given up to him, Roostum Alee. Bikramajeet consented on condition of getting a written promise to the above effect, with security for its performance. Roostum Alee accordingly gave the promise, guaranteed by *the Commander of the faithful Alee-oos-salam*, and Bikramajeet tying it up in his turban, sent his men with orders to deliver up the fort. And Munsaram, who had gained his points, at once deputed some of his most trustworthy dependents to make arrangements for holding the place. Having settled affairs with the zemindars of Chowrasee, Roostum Alee returned, and Bikramajeet at once asked for the fulfilment of the promise made him; but Roostum, who could scarcely draw his breath without the consent of Munsaram, made excuses; and a year had not elapsed when, falling into disgrace, he was dismissed from his government by Nawab Sufdur Jung; Munsaram, whose character for wisdom was known to the Nawab, being appointed to the vacancy thus made. Bikramajeet, happening to be with Roostum Alee at the time of his dismissal, took out the written promise from his turban and laid it before him, saying: "I too, have obtained full justice; now the pain and grief of losing my

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fort of Mureahoo has quite left my heart." Having said this he departed, and nothing was heard of him or of his family until the time of Rajah Chet Sing, when Mr. Duncan summoned all the zemindars of the four surkars (provinces) for the purpose of settling their estates with them. Among them appeared Goordut Sing, a descendant of Bikramajeet, and he obtained a pottah of some thousands of rupees for his ancestral property.

Appointment of Rajah Munsaram to the government of Benares, Jounpore, &c., and dismissal of Roostum Alee Khan.

When Mahomed Shah, the Emperor, appointed Boorhan-ool-Moolk Nawab of the Subahs of Oudh and Allahabad, the Nawab having taken an agreement from Nawab Meer Moortuza Khan to pay seven lakhs of rupees for the four surkars, re-appointed Meer Roostum Alee to the government for an additional sum of one lakh. Many complaints used to be made to Boorhan-ool-Moolk of the neglect and carelessness of Roostum Alee, to which, being freindly towards him, he did not listen. However, in 1150 Hijree, being summoned by the Emperor Mahomed Shah to Delhi, he went, leaving his son-in-law, Nawab Abool Munsur Khan, as his deputy. The enemies of Roostum Alee, finding this an opportunity, poured their complaints and accusations into the ears of Sufdur Jung, asserting that Roostum Alee paid no attention to State business, but spent all his time in pursuit of pleasure; that he entertained enmity towards the servants of the State and meditated encroachments on the prerogative of Meer Moortuza; and thus they succeeded in causing Sufdur Jung to mistrust him. When Nawab Abool Munsur Khan got wind of these accusations he became greatly irritated, and at once started from Fyzabad to inflict chastisement. When he had reached Jounpore, the well-wishers of Roostum Alee, who always had a spite against Munsaram, insinuated that he was the originator of all this ill-feeling; that openly he professed freindship, but in his heart was contriving schemes to injure, and that he it was who had excited Sufdur Jung against him (Roostum Alee). Roostum Alee was thunder-struck at hearing all these stories, and asked Rajah Munsaram what they all meant. Munsaram, a clever and open-minded man, assured Roostum Alee that it was impossible for him whom he had raised from nothing to be guilty of such treachery, and that it was merely the invention of enemies who were envious of Roostum, and

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also wished to injure him (Munsaram). To this Roostum replied that if such was really the case, some steps must be taken to induce Sufdar Jung to return at once from Jounpoor to Fyzabad. Munsaram answered, that any direct application to that effect would not do; but if Roostum would permit, he himself would proceed to the Nawab, and by making things smooth with the Nawab's ministers, and presenting gifts, so remove his suspicions; but he added that he felt doubtful about Roostum's feelings towards him while absent; that it was likely his enemies would take this chance of misrepresenting all his actions, and thus cause a coldness to arise between them, in which case his efforts would be fruitless.

Roostum Alee approved of Munsaram's plan, and assuring him of the continuance of his friendship, sent him with costly presents to the Nawab.

Rajah Munsaram, on his arrival at Jounpoor and obtaining an audience, laid these presents from Roostum Alee before the Nawab, and by his address and knowledge of affairs completely cleared the mind of the Nawab from the doubts he had regarding Roostum Alee, and brought him to look again with favour upon the latter.

During the discussions about these affairs, Munsaram had offered an increase of four lakhs of rupees in revenue if the four surkars were continued to Roostum Alee, when a letter came from Boorhan-ool-mulk to Sufdar Jung, to the effect that the Ghazeepoor Province was to be given to Sheikh Abdoollah. Many of the Nawab's courtiers were friends of Abdoollah, and reminded him in private how long a time Abdoollah had been at court, and that on this journey he was always in attendance; further, that there were the orders of the Nawab Boorhan-ool-mulk, and that the best thing to do would be to give Abdoollah Ghazeepoor, and the other three provinces to Roostum. The Nawab also approved of this course.

Munsaram, on hearing of this project, without consulting Roostum Alee, strongly objected, and the argument between the Nawab's ministers and Munsaram waxed hot on the point, when suddenly Sheikh Abdoollah appeared on the scene, and bid eight lakhs additional for the four surkars. Munsaram's enemies about Roostum Alee represented to him that all these proceedings—the consent to pay increased revenue, and the separation of Ghazeepoor from the four

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surkars—were merely dodges of Munsaram, and succeeded in causing Roostum to suspect him. An angry correspondence then began. Roostum showed his displeasure openly to Bulwunt Sing who was at his court, and permitted the enemies of Munsaram to attend and take part in his councils. By their advice he sent another envoy to the Nawab, who was directed to carry on the negotiations, without consulting Munsaram, through some of the Nawab's ministers, and by no means to allow Munsaram to interfere. These things were soon known to Munsaram, and grieved him greatly: he consulted those of his friends who were at the Nawab's Court, and was advised by them that, since his principal had thrown him over, his best plan was to act for himself in the business, to spend money, and court the favour of the Nawab. Accordingly, as he fully perceived that his power in the country and influence with Roostum Alee would go with his loss of favour, and not liking to fall back into a position of inferiority, he made overtures to the Nawab's ministers, and obtained their consent to getting the three surkars by paying thirteen lakhs of rupees revenue. The Nawab approved, and granted a sunnud of the three surkars in the name of Rajah Bulwunt Sing—the fourth, Ghazeepoor, being given for three lakhs of rupees to Sheikh Abdoollah. The kotwalee of Benares, the governorship of the fort at Jounpoor, and the mint at Benares, were not included in Rajah Bulwunt Sing's sunnud, but were bestowed on other dependants of the Nawab, and troops were sent to instal the new rulers in their places.

Roostum Alee, overcome with grief and anger at these occurrences, was unable to take any steps to recover his position, and departed for Allahabad by way of Mirzapoor. Rajah Munsaram arrived at Benares on the 21st day of the month Safar, in the year 1151 Hijree, and at once entered upon the government of his three provinces, making his son, Bulwunt Sing, conspicuous for the splendour of his court, and occupying himself in the affairs of State until he was seized by mortal sickness, and died immersed in business up to the last moment of his life.

Munsaram's only acknowledged son was Bulwunt Sing, whose mother was the sister of Chain Sing, zemindar of Sikhur—a village on the north bank of the Ganges, opposite the fort of Chunar. Amal Sing, the son of Chain Sing, is still possessor of the village.

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Marriage of Bulwunt Sing.

WHEN fortune smiled upon Rajah Munsaram, the zemindars of the neighbourhood—a stiff-necked and perverse race—finding no chance of getting the upper hand of him, submitted to his authority, with one exception—namely, Burriar Sing, zemindar of Kote Islaha, who lived at Pandehra, and who, by reason of the strength of his fort and his own high opinion of himself, took not the least trouble even to think about Rajah Munsaram, who, on his side wishing to become friendly, asked Burriar Sing for his daughter in marriage with Bulwunt Sing. Burriar Sing's brother, a man of some influence, refused his consent, and killed himself when he found Burriar Sing had agreed to the marriage between Goolab Kooar and Bulwunt Sing. The marriage, however, put an end to the endless disputes and quarrels that had previously existed. Goolab Kooar bore one child—a daughter—to Bulwunt Sing. This girl was married to Baboo Doorgbijye Sing, zemindar of Pergunnah Sarisa in Hajeepoor, and had two sons, the first Rajah Muheepnarayan, and the second Chotoo Baboo. Muheepnarayan succeeded to the Raj after Chet Sing's flight, and died some years ago. Uditnarayan, at the age of 14, succeeded to the rule on the death of his father Muheepnarayan.

As Goolab Kooar had only borne him one child, Bulwunt Sing determined to take another wife, and accordingly married the sister of Baboo Purtab Roodar, zemindar of Chunipoor, near Benares: she however, died childless. Then Bulwunt Sing cast his eyes upon Bishoon Kooar, the sister of Baboo Shewsurn Sing, who lived in Pandehra, in Pergunah Kote Islaha. Burriar Sing, hearing of this, turned Shewsurn Sing and every one belonging to him out of the place. Bulwunt Sing, however, made good their loss by giving them a village opposite Ramnuggur in Kuswar, and further, bestowed upon them a jagheer in Dondawa, near Muchlishuhur.

Burriar Sing had no children: he therefore adopted his sister's son, Ajaib Sing, as his heir, putting him in possession at once of his entire property, in which the latter remained undisturbed during the lifetime of Bulwunt Sing and up to the expulsion of Rajah Chet Sing, whom he accompanied as far as Bugunapoor in Rewah. When, however, Chet Sing prepared to go to the Deccan, Ajaib Sing left him and took up his residence for a considerable time at Chilakot—

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a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Bundelkhund, and where he remained until summoned to Benares by Rajah Muheepnarayan, who appointed him to a post in his court, and afterwards advanced him to the dignity of Naib. For some reason or other, however, after performing the duties of his office for upwards of a year, he withdrew from it, and shortly afterwards died. Ajaib Sing had four sons—Shewpursun Sing, Shewruttun Sing, Hur Sing, and Kamtapershad.

Shewsurn Sing, the brother-in-law of Bulwunt Sing, having betrothed his daughter to the son of Ousan Sing, and relying on his support, started a hostile claim against Shewpursun Sing for a share in Pergunnah Asla.

For a length of time the suit was pending in Benares before Mr. Duncan, whom Ousan Sing vainly endeavoured to influence. The case then came before Mr. Abraham Welland at Jounpoor, who, as Shewsurun Sing could neither produce any title to, nor prove possession of the property, dismissed his claim to it as untenable. The four brothers remained at Kote Asla in comfortable circumstances, and enjoyed the friendship of Rajah Uditnarayan Sing, until, having joined Wuzeer Alee in his insurrection against the English, they were dispossessed and driven away, as is related in detail hereafter in the fifth chapter.

Rajah Bulwunt Sing married a fourth wife; but nothing whatever is known about the affair beyond that she came from Pergunnah Kuswar. Regarding his fifth wife this much is ascertaind, that she* was the daughter of a Chundel Rajpoot, zemindar of Bijyegurh, and she bore two sons to Bulwunt Sing—namely, Chet Sing and Soojan Sing. Chet Sing married the daughter of Oomrao Sing, Chowdharee of Chorari in Pergunnah Mureahoo, and after being in power eleven years, was, through the bad conduct of his ministers, expelled from the territories of the Company, together with his brother Soojan Sing, as will be found set forth in Chapter III. Chet Sing is still alive and residing in Zillah Gwalior, where Soojan Sing died some years before this was written.

Baboo Ousan Sing of Dareekhoo, in Pergunnah Kuswar, near Gungapoor of Thathara, was by caste a Goutum Bhonihar, and

* This is an error. She was from Sukhaldwip.

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except by caste was not related to either Rajah Munsaram or Bulwunt Sing. It is told of him that when Bulwunt Sing was building the fort at Gungapoor, he was then a mere labourer on the works which were being thrown up: he, however, attracted the attention of Bulwunt Sing, who inquired who he was and whence he came, and taking a faney to him, recommended him to his mother as being a Goutum. The old lady, being soft-hearted, looked with favour upon Ousan Sing, and kept him in her service, putting him in charge of her cattle, from which he was promoted to be Kotwal of Ramnuggur Fort by Bulwunt Sing, when the latter retired thither through fear of the Nawab Wuzeer.

When Mata Sahab* found favour in the sight of the Rajah, and a separate property was assigned to him, Ousan Sing became the manager of it; and, in addition to this, on the birth of Chet Sing, was appointed to superintend his education. It was by his instigation that Chet Sing made an application to his brothers to eat with him. After this affair Ousan Sing fled, and for a length of time wandered about beyond the western river (Jumna?): thence he turned eastwards, but by order of the Governor-General, at the expulsion of Chet Sing, he returned to Benares, and a jagheer in Syudpoor was assigned to him. The full account of these events will be given in the third chapter. Baboo Baijnath Sing, Mookhtar, by caste a Brahmin Missir, lived at Chourasee—a village in the Mirzapoor District,—and was an expert in astrology. Through his knowledge of this science he obtained access to Rajah Munsaram, who bestowed upon him as "kishnarpun" the village of Kardana, near Gungapoor. Afterwards, during the government of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, by reason of his wisdom and experience, he obtained direction of the principal affairs of the State, and the charge of all the forts and treasures was entrusted to him; in addition to which his dependants were put in charge of most of the pergunnahs of the province, and he himself was most highly thought of by all.

The temple on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, in which the family of the late Shahzada Juwanbukht are now residing, was erected by him.

* In the Persian this name is given as Pana Sahab, and it is not clear who is meant.

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At his death he left but one adopted son, named Ramjeeawun, who, during the government of Rajah Chet Sing, became the farmer of many pergunnahs. Ramjeeawun remained for a length of time in Benares after the flight of Chet Sing, and then joined him in Gwalior.

Mihrchand Dewan and his brother.

MIHRCHAND was by caste a Khatri Thathe, and a resident of Benares. In Rajah Munsaram's time he did not possess much influence, but on Rajah Bulwunt Sing's accession to power, he rose to be Dewan and chief manager of the Government, and, accompanying the Rajah in his flight to the hill country of Bijyegurh, before the approach of Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, died from the effects of the bad climate of that part of the province. He was succeeded in his office by his younger brother, Nanda Bhugut. During his tenure of office, the courtiers of the Rajah were much vexed by his niggardliness, but his influence increased daily up to the time of Rajah Chet Sing's flight; shortly after which he died, leaving one son, named Laloo, who wasted his inheritance, and is now living in poverty.

Of Deharam and his kinsmen.

DEHARAM was the second Dewan of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, but possessed no authority at the court: he died some months before the Rajah, leaving two sons—Bhowaneedial and Rughoburdial.

Bhowaneedial succeeded his father as Dewan, but died in a short time, and as his brother Rughoburdial was too young to fill the post, it was given to Sadanund, nephew (sister's son) of Deharam, who, up to the end of Rajah Chet Sing's government, continued to act as Dewan and paymaster. When Chet Sing fled, Sadanund and Rughoburdial accompanied him; and some years after, when Rughoburdial had reached manhood, he was killed by the bursting of his gun—a piece of which struck him on the head—causing instant death. Sadanund having disagreements with some of the new companions of the Rajah, and falling out of favour, left, and came to Benares to the court of Rajah Muheepnarayan, from whom he obtained the government of Pergunnah Muchlishuhur, and died there.

These events are related in detail in the fourth chapter.

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Of Abdoollah Ghazeepooree, and Fazl Ali Khan, Chiefs of Ghazeepoor.

SHEIKH ABDOOLLAH Ghazeepoeree began life in the service of Nawab Siadut Khan, and rose to the rank of Rissaldar by good conduct. When the Emperor, Mahomed Shah, summoned the Nawab to Delhi, Sheikh Abdoollah, out-bidding the other chiefs, took the jagheer of Khan Zaman Khan, Mewatee, in Ghazeepoor and Bhojpoor, on certain conditions, and paid the money-rent regularly at the stated periods. The jagheerdars of Benares and Ghazeepoor usually entrusted him with the management of their estates, by which means he soon become a man of mark. Sheikh Abdoollah remained himself at the court of the Nawab, leaving Sheikh Shams-ool-huq as his deputy in charge of the estates. In 1146 Fuslee, Nawab Abul Mansoor Khan, having displaced Meer Roostum Alee Khan from the government of the four provinces, made over the province of Ghazeepoor to Sheikh Abdoollah at a rent of three lakhs of rupees. The Sheikh at once departed for Ghazeepoor, and for three years and some months ruled the province. By his order Shams-ool-huq built the palace called "Chahul Sutoon," on the banks of the Ganges, at Ghazeepoor, at a cost of three lakhs, and it still remains the resort of pleasure-seekers, and one of the sights of the place. Sheikh Abdoollah died in the year 1157 Hijree, leaving four sons—namely, Fuzl Alee Khan, Kurmoollah Khan, Sadoollah Khan, and Syudoollah Khan. For some reason or other Fuzl Alee did not live at Ghazeepoor during the lifetime of his father, but remained at Lucknow at the court of Nawab Abul Munsoor Khan; and, taking advantage of his absence, the nephews of the deceased, Sheikh Gholam Nabi and Sheikh Gholam Alee, placed Kurmoollah Khan on his father's seat, and he undertook the duties of government. Fuzl Alee Khan, however, being on friendly terms with the Nawab's ministers, offered an increased revenue of one lakh of rupees, and obtained the government of the province, to which he at once returned. Kurmoollah Khan not finding himself secure in Ghazeepoor, by the advice of Sheikh Gholam Nabi, Sheikh Gholam Alee, and Sheikh Shums-ool-huq, went to Lucknow to Noul Roy.

Noul Roy, who was Deputy Nawab and Chief Minister, received him kindly, having a dislike to Fuzl Alee Khan, with whose proceedings he at once began to interfere. Shah Baz Khan, a Rissaldar, was sent to overlook affairs, and taking his cue from Noul Roy,

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annoyed Fuzl Alee in every possible way, writing incessant complaints of him to Noul Roy, who, founding his accusations of contumacy on these papers, persuaded the Nawab to remove Fuzl Alee and appoint Kurmoollah to the government of the province.

Fuzl Alee, hearing of this, started for the Nawab's camp. It happened that at this time the Nawab, together with Prince Ahmed Shah, son of Mahomed Shah, was leading an army against the Afghan General Ahmed Shah, and was then at Sirhind. On Fuzl Alee's arrival at Delhi, he found the road to Sirhind closed, and was considering his best course, when Jafir Khan, Rissaldar, with a force of 700 horse and 1,000 foot, offered to join him. Fuzl Alee accepted his offer, and started for Sirhind. The report of the approach of this force to the assistance of the Hindustanee army reached Nawab Abul Mansoor Khan, who sent an officer to meet it.

It so happened that on the very day of Fuzl Alee's arrival, the Afghan leader had attacked the Hindustanee army, which was marshalled to meet him by Nawab Mansoor Khan and the Prince Ahmed Shah. A heavy fire of artillery was kept up by both sides, the noise of which so frightened the elephant on which Fuzl Alee was riding that it became unmanageable, and leaving the ranks of the Hindustanees, made for the Afghan lines in spite of all the efforts of its driver to stop it. This movement excited the suspicions of the Nawab's army as well as of the followers of Fuzl Alee himself, as it seemed doubtful to which party he would adhere.

The Afghan forces believing the Hundustanees already defeated were pressing steadily onwards, when suddenly a quantity of rockets brought by them from Lahore took fire and exploded, causing great loss in men and elephants. Not being aware that this was an accident, and being freely attacked by the Hindustanees, the Afghans began to give way and desert the field of battle. Ahmed Shah, the Afghan leader, at this turn of fortune, became hopeless of success, and, "biting the finger of amazement with the tooth of anxiety," turned his horse from the fight, and never rested till he reached Lahore.

After the battle, Nawab Sufdar Jung took Fuzl Alee under his protection, and bestowed upon him many gifts, and wished him to accept from the prince the grant of the government of the country

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up to the confines of Lahore. Fuzl Alee, who only wanted the province of Ghazeepoor, begged either for that, or to be allowed to remain with the Nawab, who, unwilling to offend Noul Roy, his deputy, would not concede the government of Ghazeepoor to Fuzl Alee, until the news arrived of the death in battle of Kurm-oollah Khan. Then, with the consent of Abul Mansoor Khan, the government of Ghazeepoor was granted by the Prince to Fuzl Ali, who was sent to Noul Roy, with an order to be installed.

Noul Roy most reluctantly obeyed, and, on payment of an increased revenue of one lakh of rupees, making a total of five lakhs, gave the grant to Fuzl Alee, who then went to Ghazeepoor and took up the reins of government, ordering the execution of all the friends and followers of Kurm-oollah Khan. In 1162 Fuslee, Nawab Sufdar Jung, having been expelled from Furruckabad by Ahmed Khan, went to Delhi, and Ahmed Khan, taking possession of all the territories of the Wuzeer, appointed his own deputies to rule them. Ghazeepoor was conferred upon Mahomed Ameer Khan, Rissaldar, who, at the head of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, started for that place. Fuzl Alee on this collected all his property and followers and crossed the river, going to Chiran in Chupra. When the Nawab Wuzeer had succeeded in overcoming the Afghans, he sent orders to Fuzl Alee and to Rajah Bulwunt Sing to attack and expel Mahomed Ameer Khan. Accordingly, Fuzl Alee advancing from Chupra, and Rajah Bulwunt Singh from Ramnuggur, joined their forces near Zamaneah, and a battle ensued, in which Mahomed Ameen Khan was defeated and put to flight. He took refuge with Dirgbijye Sing, Zemindar of Serincha, who concealed him for some days in his house, and then conveyed him to a place of safety.

Fuzl Alee Khan, having got rid of Mahomed Ameen Khan, then resumed the government of Ghazeepoor.

When Nawab Shoojaoodowla was a young man, there existed between him and Fuzl Ali an almost brotherly affection, and on the death of Abul Mansoor Khan, and Shoojaoodowla's accession to the throne, Fuzl Alee, relying on their former friendship, took no trouble to make his submission or send complimentary messengers to the new Nawab, who was incensed at the neglect. The Nawab having occasion to call to account Rajah Bulwunt Sing,

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came from Fyzabad to Benares, but failed to catch the Rajah; then, under the pretence of sport, he came from Benares to Syudpoor. Fuzl Alee did not hesitate to present himself, and the Nawab took him away with him to Fyzabad, leaving Mahomed Ali Khan as deputy in Ghazeepoor.

Mahomed Alee Khan did his best to manage the province, but the zemindars were so contumacious that he could not remain, and the Nawab hearing of the disorder into which the zillah had fallen, and listening to the solicitations of the friends of Fuzl Alee, re-appointed him to the government, sending at the same time Mirza Bahaloo, a *protegé* of his own, as Suzawul. In 1166 Fuslee, Rajah Beneebahadur, the new lieutenant of the Wazeer, ejected Azam Shah, son of Akbur Shah, the Rajah of Azimgurh, from his possessions, and the Wuzeer, at the recommendation of Mirza Bahaloo, conferred the government upon Fuzl Alee Khan, who came at once to Azimgurh. Here his injustice, oppression, and barefaced plundering caused crowds of the ryots to leave their homes and flock to Rajah Beneebahadur, crying for redress. Rajah Bulwunt Sing, although hostile to Fuzl Alee, wrote a true statement of his injustice, and enraged Rajah Beneebahadur against him.

Beneebahadur procured the pardon of the Nawab for Rajah Bulwunt Sing's misdoing, and also a grant reinstating him in his possessions, while orders were sent to Fuzl Alee to leave Azimgurh and to go to Ghazeepoor. Fuzl Alee, trusting on his old friendship with the Nawab Wuzeer, refused obedience, and prepared to fight.

On this Beneebahadur despatched Rajah Bulwunt Sing, with a large army, accompanying it himself, and they marched to Azimgurh.

Fuzl Alee, not being strong enough to encounter them, fled to Ghazeepoor; but even there he was obliged to leave, and crossing the Ganges, entered Bhojpoor; Meer Mehndee Alee Khan, the Governor of Patna, procuring for him from Meer Kasim Alee Khan a pension of Rs. 500 a day, and a village called Badhulia as a residence, where he remained for a length of time; Rajah Bulwunt Sing being reinstated in Ghazeepoor by the Wuzeer, and paying a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees.

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When the Wuzeer commenced hostilities against the English, and had arrived at Patna, he sent for Fuzl Alee, through Moosa Jain, a French Tindal, and received him kindly. After the defeat at Buxar, and peace had been made with the English, Fuzl Alee was given the government of Goruckpoor. For three years he remained there, until the Nawab called upon all his lieutenants to paymore revenue. Fuzl Alee refused to do so, upon which the Nawab sent Rajah Soorut Sing, his Dewan, to Goruckpoor, with orders to bring Fuzl Alee to court unless he paid up. Fuzl Alee still declined to pay more, and accordingly Soorut Sing brought him to the Nawab, under whose displeasure he remained for a length of time. During 1187 Hijree, Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla having taken Etawah from the Mahrattas, sent Meer Naim Khan to subdue Bundelkhund, appointing Fuzl Alee to accompany him. Meer Naim Khan having entered Bundelkhund, was defeated in a slight engagement. Fuzl Alee, who was fighting hard, could scarcely be persuaded to fly, and, through vexation at the disgrace, refused to take any food, and died after they had recrossed the Jumna? Thirteen months afterwards his widow went from Ghazeepoor to Fyzabad to the mother of the Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, and begged permission to take her husband's remains away. The Nawab's mother having given her a gold *pan*-box, she sold this, and, by hook or by crook, got to Ghazeepoor with the coffin, which she wished to bring in the courtyard of the Imambara which had been built by Fuzl Alee himself. To this, however, Bullumdoss Amil, with great malignancy, objected, and the coffin was buried in a garden. The widow had not the means to build a tomb over her husband's remains, so Moulvie Amr-oollah, a younger brother, ordered a tomb, surmounted by a dome, to be erected over the grave.

It is related that Fuzl Alee was so fat as to be unable to mount a horse, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his palkee-bearers staggered along for a few steps under his weight. He used to sit with his legs extended, and his stomach reached to his feet. Trustworthy accounts state that, notwithstanding his great corpulence, his corpse was not in the least decomposed after thirteen months. His generosity was boundless, and I have heard my father relate how, on one occasion, the Nawab sent—to exact arrears of revenue from him—four Suzawals, whose payment was to be two hundred

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and fifty rupees daily each, and with orders that until their remuneration of Rs. 1,000 a day was paid, he was to be prevented from either washing his mouth or attending to calls of nature. For two days they were not paid, during which time they prevented him from eating, drinking, or sleeping, and from easing himself. His officers having scraped together Rs. 27,000, one of them, Sheikh Mahomed Salah, came to him, and, whispering in his ear, told him that this sum had been collected, and that he should give Rs. 25,000 towards the arrears of revenue, and the remainder, Rs. 2,000, to pay off the Suzawuls, and so relieve himself from the annoyance he was suffering. Immediately he had heard this news he sent for my father and said,—"I have great confidence in your integrity and honour: take from my officers these Rs. 27,000 which they have somehow gathered together, and go to the gate of the Imambara, where you will find a number of Syuds and Fakeers, who have been relying upon my relieving them for many days. Give to each of them according to his wants and necessities, and dismiss them. What has happened to me was to happen." My father replied,—"Shall I not also give those four tormentors their Rs. 2,000?" but to this he would not listen. The Suzawals, hearing of this occurrence, highly applauded his spirit, and ceased to annoy him. They then left and returned to the Nawab, telling him of all that had happened. Fuzl Alee had no children, but Alee Azim Khan, his nephew, son of Saadoollah Khan, lives in Patna; and when Rajah Chet Sing attending the wife of the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, came to Benares, and was well received, the Governor-General made Alee Azim Khan an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month, since when he resides sometimes at Patna and sometimes in Ghazeepoor.

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CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF RAJAH BULWUNT SING, AND OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED THEREIN.

In the year 1152 Hijree, agreeing with 1146 Fuslee, Rajah Munsaram died, and was succeeded by his son Bulwunt Sing in all his powers and possessions.

Bulwunt Sing having obtained an introduction to Nawab Ameer Khan, Soobadar of Allahabad, through his means sent a wakeel to Dehli to present a nuzzar of Rs. 21,775, and to obtain the zemindarees of Pergunnahs Kuswar, Afrad, Kutehar, and Bhugwut, and the permission to assume the rank of Rajah and then government from the Emperor Mahomed Shah—all of which was granted under the seal of the Grand Wuzeer Kamar-ood-deen Khan.

Bulwunt Sing lived at a village called Ootaria—a name which he disliked as unlucky, and changed to Gungapoor. Here he built a mud fort defended by artillery and a wet ditch, and also erected a handsome residence for himself.

He appointed Mehrchund, a friend of his father Rajah Munsaram, his Dewan, and Baboo Baijnath Sing was made Moosahib, and, on account of his integrity, had the keys of the treasury entrusted to his care; furthermore, his advice was taken upon all affairs of the State.

The Nawab Wuzeer, who had not the same confidence in the honesty of Bulwunt Sing's officials as in those of his father Rajah Munsaram, appointed Numkeen Khan, Deputy Governor of Oudh, and Roop Sing, as Suzawuls, to ensure payment of the stipulated revenue as it fell due. They came to Benares and entered upon their duties, continuing until, in the end of the year 1162 Hijree, the Nawab Abul Mausin Khan having been summoned by the Emperor Ahmad Shah to Delhi, Bulwunt Sing, by the advice of some far-seeing

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counsellors, and taking advantage of their Wuzeer's absence, cast out the Suzawals, stopped payment of the instalments of revenue, and even began to plunder the neighbouring territory of Allahabad.

Narrative of Events in 1162 *Hijree, and of the Seizure by Bulwunt Sing of Bhudohee Fort from the Zemindars of that place.*

Duswunt Sing, zemindar of Bhudohee, a Rajpoot by caste, was a man who troubled himself very little to conciliate Rajah Munsaram; nay, on the contrary, went so far as to take possession of some of his estates. Munsaram did all he could to get him in his power, but found his efforts fruitless, and died without effecting his object. Rajah Bulwunt Sing also had the same intentions, and was waiting for a chance to put them into execution, when it happened that the associates of Duswunt Sing insulted and abused some of the household of one Roostum Khan, a Rissaldar in the service of the Nazim of Bengal. His wife at once wrote to him of the affair, and he, with true Afghan stupidity, immediately resigned his appointment, and came to Benares. He laid his complaints before Rajah Bulwunt Sing, who thanked Providence for this lucky chance, praised Roostum Khan, and, exciting him to destroy these zemindars, sent him with an army to attack them. Rajah Prithweeput, the principal Rajah of the district and zemindar of Pertabgurh, was written to, that he might give every assistance to Roostum Khan. Prithweeput had not much stomach for the fight, but Roostum Khan guaranteed him to win, and screwed him up to the sticking-point, so that the auxiliary force from Pertabgurh, and the army of Bulwunt Sing under Roostum, were put in motion towards Bhudohee. Duswunt Sing, notwithstanding his courage and numerous followers, did not consider himself strong enough to meet the enemy in the field, and therefore retired into the mud fort of Bhudohee, which he had strongly fortified. The fort was surrounded and besieged for many days, the garrison doing great execution among the besiegers by the flights of arrows and other missiles which they discharged; and having abundance of warlike stores in the fort, they felt no fears for the result.

Roostum Khan was greatly chagrined at this delay, and at length, with his own relations, took the fort by storm.

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Duswunt Sing was taken alive; many of the garrison were slain, and the remainder made prisoners. Although it had been agreed that the fort on its capture was to be made over to Prithweeput, Bulwunt Sing, by collusion of Roostum Khan, took possession of it himself, and sent his amils to occupy all the adjoining estates of Bhudohee. This occurred in the month of Zikad of 1162 Hijree. Roostum Khan, in revenge for the injury suffered at the hands of Duswunt Sing, first put him in an iron cage, and then killed him with great cruelty.

Narrative of Events in 1163 *Hijree*: *Arrival of Alee Kooly Khan to chastise Rajah Bulwunt Sing.*

ALEE KOOLY KHAN BAHADOOR, one of the principal officers of Nawab Sufdar Jung, had charge of the territories of the Soobah of Allahabad, and was at this time in the country south of the Jumna. On hearing of the treacherous manner by which Bulwunt Sing had possessed himself of the fort of Bhudohee, he became greatly enraged, and, with the permission of his superior, came to Chunar fort by the way of Mirzapore to prepare to inflict punishment for the deed.

Bulwunt Sing becoming alarmed consulted Mehrban Sing, father of Baboo Ousan Sing, who advised him to retire to Luteefpoor for a time, and if Alee Kooly Khan should advance so far then to attack him. Bulwunt Singh approved of this course, and leaving Gungapoor crossed the Ganges at Chundowlee, and arriving at Luteefpoor began to collect his forces. Alee Kooly Khan, not thinking it prudent to attack him just then, marched towards Bhudohee, ejecting Bulwunt Sing's garrison from the fort and putting his own men in their place, and then returned to his own government.

On this Bulwunt Sing returned to Gungapoor, and despatched a force to recapture Bhudohee fort. Alee Kooly Khan's garrison did not consider themselves capable of holding the place, and evacuated it without being in any way interfered with. Alee Kooly Khan was greatly displeased at this occurrence, but, not being just then able to cope with Bulwunt Sing, remained waiting for an opportunity to meet him. At this time Ghanee Sing, son of Berisal, and Shewbuksh Sing, son of Duriao Sing, who had collected an army for the purpose of taking revenge for their father's murder,

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and to recover their hereditary property, hearing of Alee Kooly Khan's disposition towards Bulwunt Sing, came to him during the rainy season at Pergunnah Burriasee in Allahabad, and incited him to commence hostilities. They took upon themselves the post of driving out Bulwunt Sing from his territories, and urged that no time should be given him to collect arms or ammunition, or seek for help; that now, when the rivers and nullahs were full of water, they could either take him alive in battle, or trample his head under their horses hoofs. Alee Kooly Khan, as anxious to retaliate on Bulwunt Sing for his treachury as they were, agreed to these proposals, and collecting as large a force as he could, crossed the Ganges into Bhudohee. Bulwunt Sing, hearing of the alliance of Ghanee Sing, Shewbuksh Singh, and Alee Kooly Khan, and not feeling himself strong enough to fight them, opened negotiations with Baboo Gopi Sing Hazaree and Baboo Busunt Sing Hazaree, two officers of high rank in Alee Kooly Khan's army. He offered to pay a nuzzur of one lakh of rupees on condition that hostilities should cease, and the army retire; further, that he should have full possession of the Bhudohee estates, for which he was prepared to pay an increased revenue of four annas in every rupee.

Alee Kooly Khan, although strongly urged by Gopi Sing and Busunt Sing, refused to accept these terms, Ghanee Sing supporting him in his opinion. The two Baboos, resenting the rejection of their advice, opened a friendly correspondence with Bulwunt Sing, and on the 9th of Zikad in 1163 Hijree, joined his army, which marched from Gungapoor and reached Bhudohee. Early next morning the drums beat to arms, and the forces were drawn up on the field of battle. On the right, commanded by Baboo Ramrooch Sing, were Lall Khan and the other Afghan Rissaldars. On the left were the auxiliary zemindars commanded by Baboo Hurdut Sing and Purmdut Sing, who were cousins. In front were the artillery and camel-guns, and in the rear the luggage and camp-followers. Bulwunt Sing took his station with some chosen troops in the centre.

Alee Kooly Khan was at breakfast when the drums of the advancing enemy were heard, and rising from his meal, saying it was no time to be eating when the enemy were close upon him, mounted his horse and went to the field. Halting at a cannon-shot

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distance from the enemy, he arranged his line of battle; Baboo Gopi Sing with his troops and artillery, and Baboo Shewbuksh Sing and his men to oppose Lall Khan, while Ghanee Sing was directed to attack Baboo Hurdut Sing. Alee Kooly Khan trusted greatly upon Gopi Sing and his troops, but their fidelity having been tampered with by Bulwunt Sing they withdrew from action, and remained as spectators of the fight, until they went over to the enemy and began to fight on his side.

Through the defection of these two leaders the fight went against Alee Kooly Khan, and his troops fled, allowing themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Ghanee Sing finding the field newly cleared of his followers, galloped up to Shewbuksh, saying that his plans had failed, but that still there was a chance for their lives which he advised availing themselves of by flying. Shewbuksh Sing replied that such a course was cowardly, that for himself he had determined to die on the field, and that Ghanee Sing might do as he pleased. Saying this he put his lance in rest and charged direct at Lall Khan, trying to run him through the chest, but was shot through the head by Namdar Khan, and fell dead from his horse. Ghanee Sing not caring to lose his life, quitted the field and fled towards Bettiah.

Alee Kooly Khan, seeing the day was lost, also fled, with the remnants of his army, and arrived at Allahabad in a wretched state. After this victory the pride of Bulwunt Sing was doubled. About this time the news arrived that during the month Showal of 1163 Hijree, the Afghans had defeated Abul Mausin Khan, and that his Deputy, Rajah Noul Roy was killed in the battle, the Nawab arriving alone, wounded and dejected, at Delhi. The Afghans took possession of all his territories, plundering and destroying many towns.

Narrative of Events of the year 1164 *Hijree: Appointment of Sahib Zaman Khan, Jounporee, by Ahmed Khan Bungush, to eject Bulwunt Sing from the four provinces.*

Sher Zaman Khan and his brother Mahomed Zaman Khan, of the Dilazah caste, were men of high rank in Jounpoor, from the time of the Emperor Mahomed Shah. Sher Zaman had one daughter, who after his death was married to Ahmed Khan Bungush, son of Mahomed Khan Bungush of Furruckabad.

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Mahomed Zaman had two sons, Sahib Zaman Khan and Kurm Zaman Khan, and they, through vicissitude of fortune, found themselves obliged to accept service as Rissaldars under Bulwunt Sing. In these days Ahmed Khan, having defeated Nawab Sufdar Jung, had taken possession of all his territories. He appointed his son Mahomed Khan to subdue the province of Oudh, while he marched to occupy the province of Allahabad, at the same time appointing Sahib Zaman Khan viceroy over the four sircars as well as of Azimgurh, Mahoul, Akburpoor, and other places, in order that the Wuzeer's officers might be ejected from these dominions.

Sahib Zaman Khan did not feel strong enough then to act openly, but endeavoured to effect his object of expelling Bulwunt Sing secretly. Bulwunt Sing, who was much distressed at the defeat sustained by Sufdar Jung, on hearing of Sahib Zaman's designs became greatly perplexed, and sending for him, professed the greatest friendship, saying that if what he had heard was true, he was ready to obey, and, moreover, had the greatest desire to assist in arranging for the transfer of the country, in ruling which he was even prepared to act as Zaman Khan's Deputy. Zaman Khan pretended to agree, and making some excuse for leaving, came to Jounpoor, where a second order reached him not to delay any further in expelling Bulwunt Sing. Sahib Zaman Khan represented that Bulwunt Sing was well furnished with men and money, and was fully prepared to fight; that unless Ahmed Khan would send troops it would not be wise to fight Bulwunt Sing. Accordingly Ahmed Khan despatched some Rissaldars to his assistance, also directing Akbur Shah, Rajah of Azimgurh, and Shamshad Juhan, Zemindar of Mahoul, to place themselves under Zaman Khan's orders. Zaman Khan then, by the advice of his officers, marched from Jounpoor to Akburpoor, and began to collect troops. To him here came Rajah Akbur Shah at the head of 500 horse and 1,000 foot; Shamshad Juhan at the head of 150 horse and 500 foot; also Ghanee Sing followed by a number of his kinsmen and retainers; so that in a short time the force collected amounted to 1,700 horse and 10,000 infantry. The small fort of Surhunpoor near the camp was taken after a siege of 15 days, and whatever was found in it given to the troops, who then marched to besiege the fort of Jounpoor. This fort was not of very great

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strength, so that Zaman Khan was able at the first attack to make a lodgment at the gate, which he proceeded to set fire to by heaping a quantity of wood against it. The garrison assembling here, defended the entrance with a heavy fire of musketry, flights of arrows, rockets, and stones, killing and wounding numbers of the assailants, who, however, after six hours' fighting, forced the gate and became masters of the place.

Zaman Khan, having placed his officials throughout the district, was strongly urged by his chief officers to march at once to attack Bulwunt Sing. They represented that he was already fearful, and most likely would fly to the hill country without fighting, and so his whole territory would fall easily into Zaman Khan's hands. Zaman Khan, however, did not approve, and went to Nizamabad to make some arrangements. This step greatly relieved Bulwunt Sing, who had made every arrangement for crossing the Ganges in case of an attack on him, and he at once marched to Mureahoo where he formed a camp. Here the news reached him that Ahmed Khan had arrived at Allahabad, and was besieging the Fort, on which, by the advice of his counsellor, he sent Lall Khan, Rissaldar, and Rasool Khan, Bukshi, with costly gifts to Ahmed Khan. The envoys were prudent men, reached Allahabad safely, and by a judicious distribution of presents among the Afghan leaders won them over, so that shortly, by means of the good offices of Hajee Surfuras, they were introduced to Ahmed Khan, from whom they at once obtained an order for Bulwunt Sing to present himself at Allahabad. Bulwunt Sing, seeing that it was his best plan to obey, came to Allahabad alone, and at his first interview with Ahmed Khan, brought him to look favourably upon his case. So that through his leniency Bulwunt was allowed to retain one-half of his territories, the other half being given to Zaman Khan. Bulwunt Sing being powerless to oppose, agreed to the arrangement, and got a grant of half his original possessions. As he was leaving the presence of Ahmed Khan, Zaman Khan was just entering the camp.

Ahmed Khan warned Zaman Khan to be on his guard against Bulwunt Sing so long as the dispute with Nawab Abul Mausin Khan remained unsettled; that after he, Zaman Khan, had once got securely fixed in possession of half Bulwunt Sing's territory, it

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would not be difficult to acquire the other half also. Hajee Surfuraz, Bulwunt Sing's introducer, was sent with Zaman Khan to put him in possession of all the country north of the Ganges, and to act as arbitrator and adviser between the two rulers. The Hajee however, by consent of Zaman Khan, did not stir out of Nizamabad. Suddenly the news arrived of the advance from Delhi of Nawab Abul Mausin Khan against Ahmed Khan, and of the latter having been obliged to raise the siege of Allahabad Fort, and retreat with disgrace and shame. Bulwunt Sing now felt alarmed at what he had done in regard to Ahmed Khan, and leaving Gungapoor pitched his camp at Mureahoo, sending word of what had occurred to Zaman Khan, and requesting him to evacuate the countries lately given him. To this Zaman Khan would not consent, and marched with all his army to Jounpore. The day after his arrival some of the leaders of Bulwunt Sing's forces advanced to a village called Sardunpoor, where was the camp of Zaman Khan, and closed all the roads. On this very day the news of the flight of Ahmed Khan had reached Zaman Khan, and he knew that his power was gone, while, on the other hand, Bulwunt Sing's pride and insolence increased two-fold. Immediately he ordered the drums to beat to arms and mounted his horse. Zaman Khan, who seemed to have lost the help of heaven, saw no deliverance but in death, and with some of his followers as desperate as himself, rushed to the encounter which seemed inevitable, when suddenly Lall Khan, Rasool Khan, Mungli Khan, and other Afghan Rissaldars turned their horses from the fight, and rode up to Bulwunt Sing. There with one voice they refused to attack Zaman Khan, saying that so long as he was supported by Ahmed Khan he had fought to get possession of the country; and that so long they had proved their fidelity by not hesitating to attack him their own countryman; that now Ahmed Khan had fled, Zaman Khan was powerless, and only sought to save his honour by dying in battle, and that under these circumstances it was not proper for them to draw their swords against him, the more so as if he gained any advantages in this part of the country, they also would be sharers in the honour accruing. Bulwunt Sing was exceedingly wrath at these words, and first ordered his own kinsmen to the attack, but on consideration that he would by this make enemies of his own followers, he became calmer, and praising the

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Afghan Rissaldars, said that since such was their wish he would cease from hostilities, but that Zaman Khan should retire from the field wheresoever he thought proper.

Zaman Khan, when he heard of this condition, replied, that if in his position he suffered the least slight, his name would be disgraced among his kindred, and that until the army of Bulwunt Sing had retired out of his sight, he would hold his ground. The Afghan officers, bogged Bulwunt Singh to comply and withdraw his troops, and he in a rage, flinging away his sword and shield, turned his elephant from the field, and when he had retired some little distance, Zaman Khan returned to his house.

Here, however, he found it unwise to remain, and accordingly pitched his tent in a garden at Chandeepoor. Next morning his troops, instigated by Bulwunt Sing, created a riot for their pay, which Zaman Khan gave them, partly in money and partly in grain, and started alone on the road to Azimgurh. Bulwunt Sing then surrounded his house, turned out his relations and dependents from it, and having allowed it to be plundered set fire to it.

Zaman Khan found that it was not safe to remain in Azimgurh, as the Nawab Wuzeer was unfriendly to him, so by advice of Ghanee Sing he went into Perguunah Bettea, the Rajah of which country received him kindly, and granted him a jagheer suitable to his rank. After some time he returned to Jounpoor, and was well treated by Bulwunt Sing, who reinstated him in nearly all his zemindaree, the rent of which his children paid regularly. After his death Roushun Zamun Khan and Sultan Zamun Khan obtained puttahs as lumberdars, but were not of any rank.

Narrative of the events of the year 1165 *Hijree: Arrival at Benares from Fyzabad of the Nawab Wuzeer to chastise Bulwunt Sing.*

THE Nawab Wuzeer being no longer occupied with the Afghans, and the rebels of those parts having been reduced to submission, started for Benares to take revenge on Rajah Prithweeput, Zemindar of Purtabgurh, and Rajah Bulwunt Sing, Zemindar of Benares, for the part they had played in acknowledging and obeying the autho-

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rity of Ahmed Khan. On reaching Sultanpoor, Rajah Prithweeput presented himself to the Nawab, who cherished a deadly hatred against him.

Prithweeput, who had come unarmed into the Nawab's presence, was thrown off his guard by the apparent friendliness of his words, when suddenly, the Nawab making a sign, Alee Beg Khan, who was standing by Prithweeput's side, drew his dagger and stabbed him in the left side. Prithweeput sprung on Alee Beg Khan, and biting a piece out of his cheek fell dead with it in his mouth. The Nawab Wuzeer went on his way to Jounpoor rejoicing. Bulwunt Sing hearing of the fate of Prithweeput became alarmed, and removed with all his family to the hill country south of the river, while the Nawab, after plundering the fort at Gungapoor, sent an army across the river after Bulwunt Sing.

Bulwunt Sing, thinking it the best plan to submit, sent Lall Khan with two lakhs of rupees as a nuzzur and to offer two lakhs yearly increased revenue. Lall Khan reached Benares, and through Syud Noor-ool Hussun Khan Bilgrame obtained an audience of the Nawab, who had become somewhat favourably disposed towards Bulwunt Sing, through the management of Noor-ool Hussun. The Nawab offered to pardon Bulwunt Sing, if he would present himself before him, a step which Bulwunt Sing, who had Prithweeput's murder in remembrance, decidedly declined to take, nothwithstanding that by the advice of Lall Khan, Noor-ool Hussun had gone to him and tried to overcome his fears. Bulwunt Sing's reply to all his arguments being the very sufficient one, that as yet no one who had gone to the presence of God had ever come back.

Meer Noor-ool Hussun Khan related to me, that one day, being in conversation with Bulwunt Sing, he asked him why, notwithstanding the friendliness of the Nawab, he felt such fear and dislike to present himself.

Bulwunt Sing answered that his case reminded him of the story of the cock and the falcon, which ran: "That one day, a falcon happened to fall into conversation with a cock, and spoke thus: 'I am a bird of the hills; I was born there; I live among them, and find my living there, where even the scent of man does not reach

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me. I certainly have been caught by the snares of man, and eat and drink from his hand, and in return obey him so far that when he takes me out for sport, after catching my quarry, I sit upon his arm. But what is the reason that you who have been born and bred among men, and are always in their company, make such a row and cry aloud before heaven when he attemps to catch you.' The cock replied: 'Hold your tongue. Did you ever hear of or see a falcon being killed, plucked, and put on a spit and roasted. How often have I, since the day I came out of my shell, seen my companions killed, plucked, roasted, and eaten! and the noise I make is therefore only lamentation for my friends who have departed this life.'" In fine, the Nawab seeing that Bulwunt Sing was not to be entrapped, and other weighty matters pressing on his attention, privately sent him a "khillut," and confirmed him in all his possessions, appointing Noor-ool Hussun as Suzawul to ensure regular payment of revenue, and then returned to Fyzabad.

Narrative of the Events of the year 1166 *Hijree: Seizure of the Fort of Patita by Bulwunt Sing.*

Bulwunt Sing having taken a dislike to Gungapoor, chose Ramnuggur, on the south side of the Ganges, for his new residence, and ordered all his Rissaldars to erect houses there; while as a place of safety for his treasure and valuables, he desired to get hold of the fort of Bijyegurh, a fortress built on the top of a high hill.

The approaches to this fort were, however, commanded in one direction by the fort of Patita and on the other by the fort of Lutteefpoor, and their garrisons could render difficult any movement of troops to or from Bijyegurh.

For this reason Bulwunt Sing desired first to get the fort of Patita into his hands. This fort is situated about six miles east from Chunar at the foot of the hills, and in Pergunnah Bhugwut, and was erected by the ancestors of Dewan Jamayut Khan, who were zemindars of Bhugwut, for their own protection. Bulwunt Sing at first endeavoured to obtain possession of the fort by treachery, but was defeated by the unceasing care and watchfulness of

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Jamayut Khan. At length Jamayut Khan fell sick, and the news of his illness soon reached Bulwunt Sing, who at once besieged the place, which Jamayut Khan, in spite of his sickness, bravely defended for a month. Provisions, however, began to run short, and the garrison lost heart, so that Jumayut Khan escaping by a postern gate to the hills, evacuated the place, which thus fell into Bulwunt Sing's power. Jamayut Khan died soon after from the effects of the climate in the jungle. Bulwunt Sing directed Baboo Byjnath Sing to repair the fort and put it into a fit state for defence.

Narrative of the Events of the year 1167 *Hijree: Reduction of the Forts of Lutteefpoor and Bijyegurh by Bulwunt Sing.*

The Fort of Lutteefpoor is built of stone, and situated at he foot of the hills, and is surrounded by them and by ravines and uneven ground.

It was erected by Malik Farukh, zemindar of Ahrorah, for the safety of his family and treasure. Malik Farukh paid revenue to Bulwunt Sing, and during his lifetime Bulwunt Sing was unable to get possession of the fort, though his constant desire was to do so, knowing that unless he was master of it Bijyegurh Fort would be useless.

Malik Farukh died in 1166 Hijree, leaving two sons, Malik Ahmed, who lived in the Fort of Ahrorah, and Malik Ahsan, who held Lutteefpoor.

On the death of their father, Bulwunt Sing, by sending presents and messages of pretended condolence, lulled them into security and a belief of his friendliness: then at the head of an army he attacked Ahrorah Fort, which being of no strength was taken after six hours' fighting. Malik Ahmed, in trying to make his escape to Lutteefpoor, was surrounded and killed in the bazaar of Ahrorah by Bulwunt Sing's men; and Malik Ahsan, hearing of the death of his brother, evacuated Lutteefpoor and fled towards Zumaneah. Thus to his great delight, the much longed for fort fell easily and by great good luck into Bulwunt Sing's hands.

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Baboo Byjnath Sing was ordered to repair the works, and much property was sent there.

Jafer Khan and other Rissaldars were stationed in the fort, with orders to make incessant raids on the neighbouring pergunnah of Sookrit, and, as far as they could, to plunder the country of the Raja of Bijyegurh. So well did they obey orders that in a single year they had made a clear road through the jungle, and occupied most of the villages of Burhur. The Fort of Bijyegurh is on the summit of a hill, the ascent to which is six miles, and was first merely an entrenchment of rough stones thrown up by one Bijye Sing, a zemindar of those parts, for his own safety. Bijye Sing was not by descent a man of any rank or standing, and having learned Bulwunt Sing's desire to become possessed of the place, opened negotiations with him for its sale, and after some correspondence the price was fixed at Rs. 50,000. The officials in the fort attempted the fraud of keeping possession of the place after the money had been paid: they were, however, more like cows or sheep than men, and fled to Rotasgurh, when Bulwunt Sing prepared to arrest them: and Byjnath Sing was then ordered to put the place in a thorough state of defence, and to erect within it suitable buildings for habitation and as storehouses.

Of all the houses and forts possessed by Bulwunt Sing this was esteemed by him the safest and strongest, and thither he conveyed from all other places his money and valuables, and there stored them.

About this time also, he besieged and after a few days took the fort of Agoree, which had been built by the kinsmen of Bijye Sing on the banks of the river Sone, about 12 miles to the south of Bijyegurh, and Byjnath Sing was directed to put this fort also in a proper state; which he did, building four bastions to it. On the flight of Chet Sing, the fort of Bijyegurh was taken, and all the property found in it awarded among the English troops by order of the Governor-General. And at this time Adil Sah, the grandson of Bijye Sing, came from Rotas, and claimed from the Governor-General his ancestral property, and obtained a jagheer of Rs. 20,000 in the district.

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I have heard that the garrison stationed in the fort suffered so much from the climate and died in such numbers, that Mr. Duncan came down himself to inspect both Bijyegurh and Agoree, and determined to remove the troops, giving to Bijyegurh, Adil Sah, and Agoree to the zemindars, on condition that they neither occupied the forts nor kept them in repair.

Narrative of the Events of 1168 *Hijree. Occupation by Bulwunt Sing of Pergunnah Kyra Mungror in the Province of Shahabad under the Suba of Patna.*

DUSARAM, the uncle of Bulwunt Sing, had been appointed tehseeldar of Shewpoor by Raja Munsaram. In 1163 Hijree, Bulwunt Sing, becoming suspicious of him, ordered his arrest. Dusaram, seeing that resistance was unavailing, fled with all the property he could collect into Kyra Mungror, and took refuge with Daim Khan, one of the chief zemindars of the zillah, whose ancestors had been zemindars of all the pergunnahs south of the Ganges in the province of Turhar, from the borders of Allahabad as far as the borders of Shahabad under the Suba of Patna. They had been Rajpoots of the Guhrwar tribe until one of them became converted to Mahomedanism by Hajee Chirag Hind, whose tomb is at Zafurabad.

During the reign of Farukh Sair, the zemindars of these parts rose in rebellion. Among them was Daim Khan, who collected a large army and expelled the imperial officials from his estates.

Namwar Khan having been sent by the emperor to put down the insurrection, subdued and punished some of the rebels, but finding Daim Khan too powerful for him, invited the help of Himut Khan of Mirzapore, an old enemy of Daim Khan. Himut Khan with 12,000 cavalry and infantry, came to the assistance of the imperial forces and expelled Daim Khan from Zillah Benares, from which time he lived in Kyra Mungror. On the appointment of Mir Rustam Alee Khan to the government of these provinces, Daim Khan, with the desire of regaining his estates, gave his daughter in marriage to Meer Furzand Alee, the son of Rustam Alee, hoping by this means to obtain his old possessions in Benares.

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Meer Rustam Alee Khan, however, and all his dependents shortly afterwards lost their power and position, and Daim Khan, who was jealous of the dignity and authority arrived at by Munsaram, welcomed the arrival of Dusaram as some counterbalance to the failure of his own plans. He treated Dusaram with great kindness, and procured for him the lease of Chinpoor and other pergunnahs by the use of his own personal influence.

One night, at the instigation of Bulwunt Sing, Dusaram attacked Daim Khan, who, however, having become aware of the treachery, had fled. Dusaram then overran and plundered Kyra Mungror and seized the whole of Daim Khan's estates. Thoroughly beaten and reduced to go on foot, Daim Khan took refuge in Mukree Khoh with Rajah Rajroop.

Rajroop, on hearing of the ingratitude and treachery of Dusaram, was much grieved, and consoled and inspirited Daim Khan: further, he immediately marched with a force and attacked Dusaram so fiercely that the latter retired into the fort in Kyra Mungror, whence he vainly endeavoured to escape. Rajah Rajroop reinstated Daim Khan in possession of Kyra Mungror, and took back Dusaram a prisoner with him to his own house. These occurrences happened toward the end of 1167 Hijree. In the beginning of 1168 Hijree, under pretence of settling affairs in Pergunnah Barhar, Bulwunt Sing collected an army, and obtaining the assistance of Narayan Rao of Zillah Jharkhand, who sent him 5,000 men, he marched to the attack of Daim Khan, with a force innumerable as ants or locusts. Daim Khan again fled to Mukree Khoh, followed as closely by Bulwunt Sing as a spider pursues a fly.

Rajah Rajroop, unable to resist or to help Daim Khan any longer, made peace, sending his prisoner Dusaram to Bulwunt Sing, and getting rid of Daim Khan. Bulwunt Sing seeing no reason for continuing hostilities returned home, leaving his army in Pergunnah Kyra and in Mungror Fort. He then sent a wakil to Rajah Jankeyram, Naib Soobedar in Patna under Shahamut Jung, taking upon him to pay seven thousand rupees revenue yearly. Mungror Fort is very strongly situated on the borders of Pergunnah Chainpoor and Kyra Mungror, on the banks of the River Kurumnassa,

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having on one side the hills, and on the other three, open country. After a few years Bulwunt Sing, by a judicious expenditure in bribes, managed to obtain from Alumgir II. a deed of rent-free grant of the whole pergunnah, and Rajah Muheepnarayan by presenting this document was confirmed in his title by the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings. It is stated that the income arising from this pergunnah is Rs. 80,000 yearly.

Narrative of Events of the year 1169 *Hijree. Rajah Bulwunt Sing ejects Himut Bahadoor, Zemindar of Garwara.*

When Sahib Zaman Khan rose against Bulwunt Sing, few of the zemindars joined him, fearing the consequences if the latter overcame the revolt. Of those who did take up arms, the chief were Sheikh Kabool Mahomed, adopted son of Sheikh Mungli, zemindar of Muchleeshuhur, and Himut Bahadoor, zemindar of Garwara. After defeating Sahib Zaman Khan, Bulwunt Sing sought for some pretence to get rid of Kabool Mahomed and Himut Bahadoor: and one occurred through a quarrel arising between Himut Bahadoor and Rutun Sein, putteedar of the pergunnah, and a man of old family therein. Himut Bahadoor beat and turned him out of his property, on which he applied to Bulwunt Sing for redress. A large army under command of Baboos Ramrooch and Surnam Sing, kinsmen of the Rajah, and Lall Khan, Dalel Khan, and Rasool Khan, Rissaldars, was sent to punish Himut Bahadoor. Notwithstanding his courage and the command of forces, he could not withstand the enemy in the field, and therefore retired into a mud fort which he had erected in Parari on the banks of the Sair. After a siege of some days, the defences were breached by Bulwunt Sing's artillery and the fort taken by storm and plundered. Himut Bahadoor escaped in the fight and fled toward Belghurria Puttee, but his eldest son, Sookhundun Sing, was made prisoner.

Bulwunt Sing, under pretence of making arrangements in Garwara, came to Muchleeshuhur from Benares, and appointed Baboo Ramrooch Sing to look after Garwara. The Baboo on getting there found that Himut Bahadoor had drawn together all the

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bad characters of the district, and had commenced to plunder, and that unless this was put a stop to, any arrangements would be hopeless. Accordingly he sent for Himut Bahadoor, pledging his word for his safety, and made over to him the estate at a revenue of Rs. 80,000, taking the security of Juttee Gosaeen for due payment thereof. Himut Bahadoor, however, being doubtful, and fearing treachery, put his son Boodh Sing in possession, withdrawing himself from the management.

During the time when Bulwunt Sing came to Muchleeshuhur Sheikh Kabool Mahomed, doubting and fearing his intentions, put the mud fort on his jagheer, and in which he lived, into a defensible state, and summoned the neighbouring friendly zemindars to his assistance. Bulwunt Sing seeing that he could not effect his object by force of arms determined to use deceit and treachery, and making all sorts of false promises, sent some of his chief officers to escort Sheikh Kabool Mahomed with due honour to his camnp. Notwithstanding the warnings of his friends not to trust Bulwunt Sing, the unlucky Sheikh, relying on his honour and on his own friendly behaviour both to Rajah Munsaram and Bulwunt Sing in Meer Rustam Alee Khan's time, accompanied the officers to the camp. Bulwunt Sing came out to receive him, seated him at his side and treated him as a brother. The Sheikh, deceived by these friendly appearances, and not suspecting treachery, took his seat and entered into conversation with Bulwunt Sing and his companions. These latter engaged the Sheikh's attention, while Bulwunt Sing on some excuse rose and went to another tent; when the soldiers who were in the camp surrounded the tent, and the seeming friends sprang upon Sheikh Kabool Mahomed and his companions. The Sheikh, seeing himself in the hands of his enemies, resigned himself to his fate, and he and Sookhnundun Sing were sent to Gungapoor, where, after some years' imprisonment, they both died.

Narrative of Events of the year 1170 *Hijree. Bulwunt Sing raising his head on the death of Nawab Abul Mansur Khan, and meditating seizure of Chunar Fort.*

At the same time that Nawab Sufdar Jung removed Meer Rustam Alee Khan from the government of the four sarkars and put

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Rajah Munsaram and Sheikh Abdoolla in his place, he also removed the Governor of the celebrated fort of Chunar and conferred the post upon Mirza Ahmed Beg Khan, a man of good family. Ahmed Beg died in 1166 Hijree, leaving one son, by name Agha Khale, who being very young, the management of affairs fell into the hands of Agha Meer, a slave of Ahmed Beg's. The Nawab Sufdar Jung having confirmed Agha Khale in succession to his father's office, died suddenly in 1169 Hijree. Bulwunt Sing now finding his opportunity, intrigued with Agha Meer, who agreed to deliver up the fort on receiving a lac of rupees.

This plot, however, becoming known to Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, he at once marched to chastise such open insolence, and Bulwunt Sing with all his family and friends fled in alarm to Lutteefpoor. Agha Meer also, fearing for his life, absconded.

The imperial troops brought Agha Khale to the Nawab, who forgave and treated him with kindness, appointing, however, one of his own dependents to the command of the fort.

On taking possession of the property of the late Governor Ahmed Beg, seven lacs of rupees in coin, and four lacs' worth of property fell into the Nawab's hands.

The Nawab's patience being quite worn out, he determined to expel Bulwunt Sing root and branch from his estates, and deputed many officers to turn him out of Lutteefpoor. Among others he summoned Fazl Alee, the son of Sheikh Abdoollah, from Ghazeepoor, to the government of which he had succeeded on the death of his father, and proposed to him that he should take the government of Benares and other provinces. Bulwunt Sing, on learning of these negotiations, set fire to and abandoned Lutteefpoor and took refuge in Bijyegurh, sending at the same time to Patna for help from the Marhatta army at that place. Fazl Alee discovering Bulwunt Sing's designs, applied at the next council for ten lacs of rupees to be remitted him as compensation for damage likely to be done by the army, and that he should be put in command of a force of ten thousand cavalry for a year; that should these conditions be granted he would extirpate Bulwunt Sing, and in the following year resume payment of revenue regularly. Mahomed Alee Khan, one of the

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Nawab's courtiers, and secretly a friend of Bulwunt Sing, on this represented that on account of the recent death of Sufdar Jung disturbances had arisen all over the countary; that it was not advisable to increase them by quarrelling with Bulwunt Sing, who, if annoyed, would certainly gather all the bad characters of the neighbourhood, and take to open violence and robbery, the consequences of which would extend even to Fyzabad and destroy all sense of security; that it would be a very difficult undertaking to collect revenue in opposition to Bulwunt Sing, and one for which there seemed to be no one powerful enough; that Fuzl Alee desired 10 lacs of rupees and an army of 10,000 men, the expenses of which would come to more than his revenue; that as it was Fuzl Alee could with difficult pay his revenue for Ghazeepoor, and it was not at all likely he would be able to pay such an immense sum in addition; that Bulwunt Sing was a zemindar, and would not, therefore, claim equality of rank, while Fuzl Alee, son of Sheikh Abdoollah, already did so, and it would be unadvisable to give him greater power; that on the whole it would be the better plan to overlook Bulwunt Sing's misdeeds with the exception of taking some fine from him for his presumption, and uphold him in possession of his government. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1170 Hijree, Bulwunt Sing being informed of these counsels, sent Lall Khan to the Nawab with five lacs as a nuzzur, and promised to pay an addition of five lacs revenue yearly. The Nawab consented, and was so pleased with Lall Khan's conversation, that at his request he gave Pergunnah Bhudohee in jagheer to Bulwunt Sing.

Fight between the Widow of Baboo Buriar Sing and the Army of the Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla. An interlude in this history.

When Bulwunt Sing fled to the hills before the advance of the victorious army of Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla from Fyzabad, his mother-in-law, widow of Baboo Buriar Sing, zemindar of Pindrah, courageously refused to follow his example, and collecting her retainers prepared to fight, putting the fort of Pindrah into a state of defence. When the Nawab's army, ignorant of these preparations, attempted to pass the fort, they were stopped by a hot fire of mus-

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ketry from its walls, and on the cause of the halt being ascertained, the troops rushed to the front bringing up their artillery, as well as pioneers to throw up batteries and to fill in the ditch. The cannonade on both sides became furious, and the fort was completely surrounded: nevertheless the *chatelaine* would not give in, but showered arrows, stones, and bullets amongst the assailants, killing numbers of them. The fight had lasted from early morning to three o'clock in the day, when the Nawab, surprised at such stubborn resistance, asked who was the commander of the fort. He was informed that it was a woman, the widow of Buriar Sing, and that on account of her relationship to Bulwunt Sing she was prepared to fight to the death. The Nawab, admiring her courage, ordered Rajah Himut Bahadoor to stop the fire of artillery from the entrenchments, and to assure the lady of her safety; to bring her from the fort with every mark of honour and respect. Himut Bahadoor, getting under the walls of the fort, succeeded in his attempt, and brought out the entire garrison and the stores in the fort.

On resuming his march the Nawab praising her courage, presented the lady with a khillut, and giving her the fort, made her commander of it. Lall Khan, through whose mediation the misdeeds of Bulwunt Sing had been forgiven, was also ordered by the Nawab to take care of the mistress of the castle.

Narrative of Events in the year 1171 *Hijree*: *Bulwunt Sing gets possession of Sarkar Ghazeepore and ejects Fuzl Ali.*

After the Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla had confirmed Bulwunt Sing in his government, and had departed for Fyzabad, the latter, delighted at his good fortune, returned to Ramnuggur from Lutteefpoor, and determined to pay off Fuzl Alee for offering to supplant him in his government and bring him prisoner to the Nawab. Fuzl Alee, relying on his old friendship with the Nawab, did not trouble himself to conciliate Rajah Beni Bahadoor, the Nawab's Deputy: neither did he pay his revenue at all regularly, and moreover was accustomed to swear at and abuse the Suzawuls sent to extract arrears from him. Bulwunt Sing, now his open enemy, spent a lac of rupees

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in bribes among the officials, and sent in an application through Rajah Beni Bahadoor, no friend of Fuzl Alee, for the government Sirkar of Ghazeepoor at double the previous revenue. Beni Bahadoor, who had been making continual complaints to the Nawab of Fuzl Alee's bad conduct, and thus excited his anger against him, connived at Bulwunt Sing's commencing hostilities, and the amils on the boundaries were directed to make incursions on the villages of Ghazeepoor. Great commotions ensued, and Fuzl Alee, much angered, began to levy an army—a step which Beni Bahadoor chose to regard as rebellion, and marched with a large force to the assistance of Bulwunt Sing. The two armies met, and for some days fighting went on, until the news spread that the Nawab Wuzeer was coming to the help of Bulwunt Sing. On this Fuzl Alee, thinking the contest hopeless, retreated from Azimgurh to Ghazeepoor; and not being able to maintain his position there, crossed the river one night with a few followers and some valuables, and took his way to Patna.

Bulwunt Sing, having arrived at Ghazeepoor, confiscated all Fuzl Alee's property, and distributed the twenty-two pergunnahs at a fixed rent among his followers. Of these pergunnahs Kunda Chowsa and Zamaneah fell to Baboo Byjnath Sing, Syudpoor, to Lalla Nundkishore, Mohumdabad to Bhairam, Mahajun, Havelee Ghazeepoor to Nundram, Dewan, and Lall Khan, Sekundurpoor to Muzufur Khan, and Sadiabad and Tuboorabad to Jugindro Sing and Dirgbijye Sing. These arrangement being effected, Bulwunt Sing returned to Benares.

Narrative of Events of the year 1172 *Hijree.—Capture by Bulwunt Sing of the Fort of Serinjha from Baboo Doorbijye Sing, Zemindar of Chowsa.*

THE mud fort of Serinjha, in Pergunnah Chowsa, is situated in a desert plain on the banks of the Doorgouti river. As far as the eye can reach, this plain extends on all sides of the fort, and, as it is without water, and almost impassable, an army could with difficulty exist in it or march over it.

Doorbijye Sing, Zemindar of Chowsa, and of this fort, relying on its strength and inaccessibility, grew irregular in the payment of

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his revenue, and, on the approach of the troops of the ruler of the province, somtimes defied them from his fort, and at others sallied out from it against them.

Bulwunt Sing, to put a stop to this state of things, sent presents to Ramnarain, Naib of the Suba of Patna, and to Sumroo, the European, and asked for help. Accordingly, a regiment under a European officer, and some guns, arrived from Patna and stopped all the roads of escape from the fort. Doorbijye Sing defended himself for some days, and then, seeing further resistance hopeless, escaped by a road he found open. It is also stated, however, that he did not escape, but fell into the hands of the European officer, who sent him a prisoner to Patna. Bulwunt Sing then plundered the household property, and made over the fort to the charge of his own men. When, some time after these occurrences, the zemindars of the Benares country hearing of the expulsion of Rajah Cheit Sing, rose in arms and obstructed the passage of the English troops, Bhugut Sing and Jugut Sing, the sons of Doorbijye Sing, arrived in Patna from Shahabad, and obtained the honour of an introduction to Mrs. Hastings, accompanying her escort to the Governor-General. On the road their attention and civility greatly pleased the lady, and in return the Governor-General gave them a yearly malikana of Rs. 11,000 from Pergunnah Chowsa. Further details are given in the third chapter.

Narrative of Events of the year 1173 *Hijree.—Bulwunt Singh ejects Vikramajeet from Pergunnah Kuntit, in Sirkar Turhur, Suba Allahabad.*

When the late Nawab, Abul Mansur Khan, had subdued the Afghans in 1165 Hijree, and returned to Fyzabad, he appointed his nephew, Muhamad Kooly Khan, to the government of Suba Allahabad, and his son and heir, Shuja-ood-dowla Buhadur, to that of Oudh. Muhamad Kooly Khan having arrived at Allahabad and entered upon his duties, found that Vikramajeet, Zemindar of Pergunnah Kuntit, in Sirkar Turhur, confident of the help of the Zemindars of Bundelkhund, and relying on the strength of his fort of Suktesgurh, had ceased payment of revenue. Muhamad Kooly Khan thereupon despatched a force under his Dewan and Deputy,

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Rai Purtab Singh, to chastise the defaulter. Vikramajeet having been shut up in his fort for some days, and seeing he was getting the worst of it, submitted, and agreed to make good the arrears of revenue, giving substantial security for its payment. Purtab Singh, not wishing to push matters to an extremity, consented to this, and asked for the promised security. Vikramajeet, who boasted of his acquaintance with Bulwunt Sing, applied to him to become his surety. Bulwunt Sing, only too glad of this chance, sent Nundlal, Mahajan of Puteeta, to give the required security. Nandlal accordingly went to Suktesgurh and immediately executed a bond for payment of 1,000 rupees arrears, and for the revenue of the current year, on getting which Rai Purtab Sing departed.

Bulwunt Sing, after some months' delay, began to dun Vikramajeet for the money advanced. He however, as he always spent more than his income, could not pay, and made excuses. Bulwunt Sing then sent suzawals with orders to seize Vikramajeet on the first opportunity; but he, with his two sons, Gobindjeet and Ishwuree Sing, fled from Kuntit and took refuge in Makhoondpoor in Rewah, and Kuntit was annexed to Benares by Bulwunt Sing, who took upon himself the payment of the revenue.

Vikramajeet died in Rewah, and his son, Ishwuree Sing was killed by treachery when making an attack on Kuntit. In the time of Cheit Sing's rule, Gobindjeet Sing remained in Rewah until the fall of Cheit Sing, when he came to Chunar, and was introduced by the author to the Governor-General, who, on the settlement of the district, obtained for him a jaghir with Rs. 40,000 as malikana in Pergunnah Kuntit.

Gobindjeet had no son and adopted his sister's son, Ramgolam Sing, who succeeded him in possession of this jaghir.

Narrative of Events of the year 1174 *Hijree.—Bulwunt Sing attacks Muhamad Kooly Khan, Subadar of Allahabad, by order of Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla.*

At the time when Prince Ali Gohur Shah Alum left Delhi on account of the misconduct of Ghazee-ood-deen Khan, and, by the

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advice of his counsellors, was proceeding eastwards, Muhamad Kooly Khan in this acted imprudently. He promised aid to the Prince, and, on his approaching Allahabad, hastened to meet him, and spared no expense in entertaining him. Further, at the request of the Prince, he sent for Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla to render assistance. The Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla came to Allahabad with great show, and promised to help the Prince with heart and soul.

Conferring with Muhamad Kooly Khan, the Nawab said that, if he came to the Prince's aid, he feared that his enemies taking advantage of his absence, and of there being no place of safety on which he could put his dependants and family, would injure them. He therefore begged Muhamad Kooly Khan to give him a written order in the name of Nujuf Khan, that he might be permitted to place his family and dependants in the fort at Allahabad, whenever he himself should be absent and engaged in assisting the Prince. Muhamad Kooly Khan, understanding from this request the Nawab's full consent to help him, gave the desired letter to Mirza Nujuf Khan, telling him to obey whatever orders he might get from Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla, who, with this document in his possession, returned to Fyzabad.

In the month of Jamad-i-sani, in the year 1170 Hijree, Muhamad Kooly Khan and the Prince proceeded by river to Patna, and commenced the siege of the fort. Their works had reached almost to the ditch of the fortification, when suddenly the news arrived that Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla, using Muhamad Kooly Khan's letter, had turned Nujuf Khan out of the fort at Allahabad, and taken full possession of the entire Subah. Muhamad Kooly Khan was utterly confounded at this intelligence, and at once withdrew from the siege of Patna, and made preparations for returning. His friends remonstrated with him, saying that he had lost Allahabad, and the best thing to do would be to try and obtain Patna instead; that on succeeding in this, he could then settle accounts with Shuja-ood-dowla. However, Muhamad Kooly Khan would not be persuaded, and started to return. Shuja-ood-dowla hearing of this, ordered Beni Bahadur, in conjunction with Bulwunt Sing, to stop his advance, and prevent his passing the borders of Benares towards Allahabad.

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Muhamad Kooly Khan had reached nearly to Seraee Sydraja, when he was met by Beni Bahadur and Bulwunt Sing, who drew up their army and artillery to oppose his passage, sending at the same time a message to the Prince that they had nothing to say to him, and he might go wheresoever he pleased. The Prince thought himself lucky to get so easily out of the scrape, and marched straight to Ramnuggur, where he encamped. Bulwunt Sing sent Lalkhan to the Prince with a present of Rs. 500 and a horse, requesting at the same time that the Prince would leave his territories, otherwise Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla might call him, Bulwunt Sing, to account.

Muhamad Kooly Khan and his followers prepared to fight, although hopeless of the result, and closely surrounded. After a day or two, he sent an envoy, asking to be allowed to go to Shuja-ood-dowla with a few attendants. Beni Bahadur and Bulwunt Sing, with the consent of the Nawab, permitted Muhamad Kooly Khan, twelve troopers, and a few servants, to proceed, and the next morning they made the army prisoners, and captured all its stores and baggage. Zein-ool-abdeen Khan, however, one of Muhamad Kooly Khan's chief officers and friends, with a few courageous followers, would not submit to this disgrace, and coming out of his tent, prepared to resist. Bulwunt Sing's men having plundered the rest of the camp advanced to attack them. Zein-ool-abdeen and his men shouted to them to keep off; that they would fight to the last rather than suffer dishonour, and would sell their lives dearly. This disturbance reaching the ear of Bulwunt Sing and his Rissaldars, and the latter being informed of its cause, they begged that Bulwunt Sing would not persist in attacking Zein-ool-abdeen, who, they urged, was only fighting to save his honour, and to whom they were indebted for many courtesies, and declared that if he still refused to spare him, they would go over and join him. Bulwunt Sing was obliged to consent, and desired that Zein-ool-abdeen might be brought to him with every honour and mark of respect. Zein-ool-abdeen, however, did not care to trust himself near Bulwunt Sing, and remained for that day in the camp, leaving for Benares early next morning.

Bulwunt Sing then plundered the whole of Muhamad Kooly Khan's personal property, and that of his officers, giving a small

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portion to the officials of Beni Bahadur, taking from him a receipt and a certificate of satisfaction. These occurrences took place in the beginning of 1173 Hijree.

Muhamad Kooly Khan, on presenting himself to Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, was immediately put in confinement, in which, after a long time, he died.

Narrative of Events of the year 1174 *Hijree.—Bulwunt Sing, hearing of the coming of Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla to meet the Emperor Shah Alum, retires to the Hills.*

In the year 1173 Hijree, Ahmed Shah, the Afghan, having cleared the western provinces—from Allahabad to Lahore,—of the hordes of Deccannees (Mahrattas), returned to his own country. Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla thought this was a splendid opportunity to bring the Emperor, Shah Alum, from the eastern provinces, and, with him, cause the whole country, now left without any rulers, of the Mahrattas to come under his own power. With this intent he sent many petitions to the Emperor, who being, on account of the war, a most unwilling resident in the eastern provinces, gladly acceded to the Nawab's petitions, and, in the beginning of the month of Zikad, 1174 Hijree, marched from Patna. Shuja-ood-dowla, hearing of this good news, immediately started with all his troops and appurtenances of government to meet the Emperor, nourishing in his heart the hope that on the Emperor's arrival in Benares he might, on some pretence or other, capture Bulwunt Sing and carry him a prisoner away with him. Bulwunt Sing, however, was not easily to be caught, and, on the first news of the Emperor's march, had, with all his family and property, retired to the hills. The Nawab did all he could, by sending the strongest assurances of safety, to induce Bulwunt Sing to present himself; Beni Bahadur, too, an old friend, used his efforts, but without effect. Bulwunt Sing would not appear. He, however, sent Lal Khan with a *nuzzur* of one lakh twenty-five thousand rupees in cash, and some thousands of rupees worth of valuables, and excused himself from appearing on account of illness. The Nawab, baffled and raging with anger, marched from Benares.

The Emperor meanwhile had reached the banks of the river Kurmnassa, and had given khilluts to Major Carnac of six pieces

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of silk, a surpech, and a jigha (gold ornaments for a turban), and to Captains Lushington and Lorton of a half-sleeved robe each, and dismissed them.

In this stage, half way between the Kurmnasa and Seraee Syud-raja, Rajah Beni Bahadur and Syud Zuhur Ali Khan, on the part of the Nawab, met the Emperor, and were honoured with an audience, and khilluts consisting of rich garments, gold ornaments for turbans, pearl necklaces, and head ornaments, an elephant, and a horse each. On the day the Emperor halted at Benares, Nawab Asuf-ood-dowla arrived to pay his respects, and was honoured with a khillut of six pieces of silk, a "surpech" and "jigha," and the rank of *Meer-atushee*, with the emblem of office, a powder horn. At this moment a consultation was being held by the Emperor and Nawab Wuzeer how to get hold of Bulwunt Sing, who still excused himself from appearing on account of illness.

At that time Bulwunt Singh's territories were overrun with thieves, who penetrated by night in troops even into the Nawab's tent, stealing everything they could lay their hands on, and stripping the soldiers almost naked. The Nawab did not wish to leave Benares until by some means or other he had got hold of Bulwunt Sing; but Beni Bahadur, who befriended Bulwunt Sing, represented that everything was prepared for marching on a great enterprise, and that it was not worth the Nawab's while to squabble with such an inferior as Bulwunt Sing; that after the affairs of the western provinces had been arranged, if it should still be the Nawab's desire to extirpate him, any of his officers would take and produce him alive before the Nawab.

The Nawab, seeing his plans all fall through, then consented to march.

Narrative of Events of the year 1175 *Hijree.—Bulwunt Sing attacks Kousal Singh, Zemindar of Talooq Kutgurh, appertaining to Qonglee.*

In this year incessant complaints arrived from Ramhit, farmer of Pergunnah Oonglee, in the province of Jounpore, to the effect that Kousal Singh, a zemindar, had rebelled, collected all the disaffected of the district, and withheld payment of his revenue, and,

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moreover, was plundering the neighbourhood, and preventing other zemindars from paying their revenue. Bulwunt Sing, on hearing of these disturbances, marched at the head of his army from Ramnuggur, and quickly arrived on the borders of Pergunnah Oonglee. At this unexpected arrival of the army, the spirits of the rebels fell, and many of them fled at once; but some of the kinsmen and connexions of Kousal Sing, by reason of their relationship, determined to make a stand. After a short fight, and being worsted, they retreated to the mud fort of Chalelee—a village in Talooq Kutgurh, situated in a wide open plain.

Bulwunt Sing on this ordered the fort to be surrounded, and his troops, thinking it to be of no strength, advanced fearlessly to the attack, but were met with such a hot fire of musketry from doors and windows that numbers were wounded and slain. They renewed the attack three or four times, but were repulsed in every attempt with great loss. Bulwunt Sing then seeing he could make no impression, retired to some distance, and encamped his army, at the same time ordering up his artillery from Jounpoor, and causing entrenchments to be thrown up and batteries built. Kousal Sing, seeing that he could not remain in the fort, escaped at night alone, and the garrison next morning asked for quarter. Bulwunt Sing, enraged at the loss of so many of his best men, refused, and ordered the garrison to be executed. On this sixteen young Rajpoots of those in the fort, throwing aside their muskets, with sword and shield appeared at the gate of the fort, devoting themselves to death, and challenged their enemies to the fight. No one could be found to meet them in hand to hand combat, but the musketeers opened fire on them from a distance; some were killed, and the rest escaped with their lives.

Bulwunt Singh then ordered the fort to be razed to the ground, and returned from the place.

Narrative of the Events of the year 1176 *Hijree.—Hostilities between the Zemindars of Rasarah, appertaining to Haweli Ghazeepoor and Bulwunt Sing.*

THE zemindars of Talooq Rasarah, in Zillah Ghazeepoor, were Senghur Rajpoots, and were of old noted for their courage. They

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cared nothing for the officials of the ruler of the province, and paid no revenue whatever. Both Rustam Ali Khan and Fuzl Ali, were, at their wit's end with these men's refractory conduct and contumacy.

When Bulwunt Singh came into power, Jyeram Sing, Kunhya Sing, and Doorga Singh were the leaders of the clan ; and thinking the former state of affairs still continued, they set Bullamdass, Amil of Ghazeepoor, at defiance, plundered his zillahdar, and on being called to account prepared to fight.

Bullamdass reported their proceedings to Bulwunt Sing, in whose side they were a thorn, and, under pretence of a hunting expedition, he came with his army and artillery to Ghazeepoor. The zemindars, on being informed of the arrival of Bulwunt Sing, collected their forces, to the amount of four or five thousand infantry, and advanced from Rasarah, offering battle. Bulwunt Sing, seeing their bravery, and knowing they would fight to the death, tried to negociate, but the zemindars would listen to no terms and the battle began. For a short time the contending parties fought with muskets and arrows. Bulwunt Sing, seeing he was making no way, ordered his artillery to open fire with grape, before which the zemindars' forces retired into Rasarah. This village is a curious and almost impregnably fortified place, surrounded by a dense belt of jungle forming an almost impassable barrier. Within, the zemindars had fortified their houses until they resembled small forts, with towers, bastions, and loop-holes for musketry; into these they retreated, and, closing the entrances, opened fire from the upper stories. At first the contest had been between man and man, now it became one with walls; and while every bullet of the zemindars brought down a man, the fire of Bulwunt Sing's troops only brought down a handful of mud from the walls. The issue of the fight was doubtful; each zemindar's house occupied the whole attention of those attacking it, and hundreds were slain, when suddenly the camp followers set fire to the jungle, and, fanned by the wind, the flames spread on all sides. Bulwunt Sing, who, with a troop of 200 sowars and a few musketeers was patrolling the outskirts of the village, was at the same time informed by his spies that the zemindars of Tunka Pooree, Nagpoorah, and Jam, all kinsmen of the

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defenders of Rasarah, were hastening to their assistance with 2,000 men, and had reached a sacred tank about a mile off, their intention being to attack him after sunset when his troops would be cooking their food. On hearing this, Bulwunt Singh turned his elephant in the direction of the tank, although Nundram, Foujdar of Pergunnah Haweli, Ghazeepoor, urged that it was unwise to attack them at this time. His followers being few and the enemy numerous, he was quickly surrounded, and a fire of muskets and arrows opened on him from all sides. Bulwunt Sing, utterly devoid of fear, was using his gun and exciting his men to the combat; and they, seeing their leader's courage, redoubled their exertions, fighting with broken arrows, and even with their fists, so that not less than 400 of the enemy's best and bravest men died in the field. The enemy, too, fought as long as they had strength to stand, and then dragged themselve from the field. It is said that even when retreating, if challenged by any of their pursuers, they turned and fought with the challenger. At length, when the news reached his army that Bulwunt Singh was surrounded and cut off, they left their trenches and rushed to his rescue. The defenders of the village, shut in on one side by the burning jungle, and on the other by the besiegers, rejoiced at this seeming flight, and sallying out, attacked them still more fiercely, the women and children even accompanying with pots and pans (filled with stones) with which they pelted them. With the arrival of these troops, Bulwunt Singh's men now outnumbered their assailants, who fled, and the besieged, taking whatever property they could save, evacuated the village.

Bulwunt Singh then entered the place, and ordered that a house should be there built for him; but his counsellors advised that, as Jyeram Singh and the other leaders had escaped in safety from the battle, they would infallibly re-assemble their men and attack the place; that therefore it would be better to make friends with them, and having taken some security for good conduct, to re-instate them in possession of the talooq. Bulwunt Sing, perceiving this to be the better plan, consented to it, and through Meer Ashruf Ali, Foujdar of Bullia, the zemindars presented themselves before him, received khilluts, and were put in possession of their talooq.

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Narrative of events of the year 1177 *Hijree. Arrival of Kassim Ali in Benares,—his request for help, and the march of the Emperor and Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla to his aid.*

At this time Meer Kasim Ali, having broken faith with the English, and suffering from the consequences of his acts, and, notwithstanding his great wealth and high rank, finding himself obliged to abandon his kingdom, came the best way he could to Benares, arriving there in the beginning of the month Jamadoo-sani of this year. He sent Mirza Shums-ood-deen to the Emperor to beg for aid, and to open friendly correspondence with Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla.

Bulwunt Sing's avarice was excited by the accounts he had heard of the valuable property which Kasim Ali had with him, and he put his thieves to work, so that as long as Kasim Ali was in Benares his horses and other property were continually being stolen, and in spite of thousands of watchmen, the thieves used every night to steal articles from even his sleeping apartments. Kasim Ali complained daily of these things to Bulwunt Sing, but only received excuses in answer.

On the receipt of replies to his petitions to the Emperor and his letters to Shooja-ood-dowla, Kasim Ali left Benares for Bundelkhund, where the Emperor and Nawab were then engaged in extracting money from Rajah Hurdooput. On his arrival Kasim Ali renewed his applications for aid and assistance. The Emperor, during his stay in Bengal, had seen the results of engagements with the English army, and was opposed to the Nawab's rendering any aid to Kasim Ali. He urged that it was much better to look after the defence of the newly acquired provinces than to renew an old quarrel and burn their fingers for other people's benefit; the more so as the Nawab's army was no match for that of the English. The Nawab somewhat resented this, and said that the English had never yet met the Hindustani army in battle, and that when they did, the Emperor would see how it could fight; so at last he consented, and in the month of Shaban, 1177 Hijree, the Emperor and Nawab with their armies reached Benares.

As usual, Bulwunt Sing, at the approach of the Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, had retired with his family and property to Latifpore,

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where repeated summonses to appear before the Nawab reached him. This time his friends advised him that refusal to appear, now that the Nawab was preparing for hostilities with the English, would be ascribed to cowardice, and that if Rajah Beni Bahadur pledged himself for his safety he should at once join in the expedition. Lall-khan was accordingly sent with valuable gifts, and was presented to the Nawab by Rajah Beni Bahadur, and returned with full assurances of honour and safety. Bulwunt Sing, however, placed not the slightest trust in them, and still delayed quitting his stronghold.

It is said that one day during the stay of the Emperor and Nawab at Benares, they visited Sheikh Ali Hozin, one of the holiest men of that time. The Sheikh enquired the cause of their coming to Benares; the Nawab replied that they were proceeding to drive the English from Bengal and the borders of Hindustan. The Sheikh smiled, and said he doubted the chance the Hindustani army, (the greater part of which knew not even how to handle sword or shield, and had never seen a battle,) would have against the English, who knew the whole art of war, and whose troops were experienced soldiers, thoroughly acquainted with the use of their chosen weapon, the musket, and that the Hindustanis would be merely slaughtered; therefore it was much better to forego all intention of war, and as far as possible, preserve peace; that the English also might do the same, but that if the Emperor considered war absolutely unavoidable * * * * (here the Urdu becomes quite unintelligible).

At the end of the month of Ramzan of this year, the Emperor and Nawab, crossing the Ganges by a bridge of boats, marched towards Patna, Kasim Ali taking upon him the payment of the expenses of the Nawab's army, eleven lakhs of rupees monthly.

Bulwunt Sing, now seeing no other course open to him, obtained pledges of safety from Rajah Beni Bahadur and Inayut Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, through Syud Noor-ool-Hussun Khan, Suzawul, and joined the army at Daoodnuggur, with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot. The Nawab, under the exigencies of the time, was obliged to receive him with friendly expressions, and attached his force to that of Beni Bahadur. The thieves of Bulwunt Sing's country were very active in the camp of the army, and ceased not

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day or night from stealing. Few of the sick escaped without losing something, and, if they resisted, they lost their lives as well as their goods. Daily complaints were made to the Nawab, who was much irritated at these occurrences. After the arrival of the army at Patna, the battle of Buharee took place, when the English troops, coming unopposed through Beni Bahadur's entrenchments, attacked the Nawab's army, which fled *en masse*. It was then told the Nawab that an old acquaintanceship existed between Bulwunt Sing and Raja Shitab Rai, through whom overtures had been made to the English, and that Beni Bahadur had been persuaded to keep his troops inactive when the battle took place. The Nawab's suspicions fell on both Bulwunt Sing and Beni Bahadur; and when he retreated from Patna to Benares he separated their forces, ordering Bulwunt Sing to cross the river and canton his troops opposite Buxar in his own province, and there to watch the movements of the English. Accordingly, Bulwunt Sing crossed over to Amla, a village in Pergunnah Mohamadabad, and there encamped. In the month of Rabi-us-sani, 1178 Hijree, after the battle of Buxar and flight of the Nawab's army, Bulwunt Sing and all his force retired through Ghazeepoor to Ramnuggur, and on the arrival of Major Monro, Commander of the English troops, together with the Emperor, he fled to Latifpoor. Major Monro assuring him of safety through Rajah Shitab Rai, summoned him to appear; and, thankful for such a friendly message, he came and was presented by the Major to the Emperor, who confirmed him in possession of his territories. Bulwunt Sing, rejoicing and covered with favour, returned to Ramnuggur.

Narrative of events of the year 1178 *Hijrve. Demand of the English on Bulwunt Sing for eight lakhs of rupees and unsuccessful seige of Chunar Fort by their troops.*

When Mr. John Vansittart, Governor-General, left Calcutta for England in 1177 Hijree, Mr. John Spencer became his successor, and appointed Major Carnac to command the English troops at Benares, and despatched him to that place together with Major Steinbelt and Major Sleaton where, Major Carnac on his arrival had an audience of the Emperor. The English troops had now been

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without pay for three months, and Major Carnac, by advice of Rajah Shitab Rai, demanded a subsidy of eight lakhs from Bulwunt Sing, who declared his inability to pay it. After great pressure, however, he agreed to raise four lakhs as a friendly loan from the mahajuns and bankers in Benares, and four lakhs fromhis own officials, and pay it within twenty days; and at the appointed time the English Officers obtained the money and paid their soldiers.

Two regiments of Sepoys under Major Reilly* were despatched to occupy the fort of Chunar. Major R. crossed the Ganges and arrived in the environs of Chunar, and after reconnoitering the country, erected a battery of a few guns on the summit of a small hill commanding the fort, the troops being stationed under shelter of the hill, so that the fire of the fort passed far above their heads while the battery was breaching the walls of the fort. At night the besiegers placed petards under the walls and exploded them, so that in a few days a practicable breach was made. On the night fixed for the storm, a few Sepoys, supported by the troops on the hill, advanced to the attack, and had almost reached the top of the breach, when the garrison discovered their presence and crowded to oppose them. A hot fire of musketry was opened on the storming party; rockets, beams of wood, and stones were thrown on them from the top of the walls, and a heavy stone falling on Major R. fractured his skull. His men than became disheartened, and placing him in a boat, with little remains of life in him, raised the siege and returned to Benares.

Narrative of events of the year 1178 *Hijree. Coming of Nawab Shoojaood-dowla from Allahabad to Benares: he suffers a defeat and retires to Fyzabad.*

THE Nawab, after his defeat, was stopping at Allahabad, and his officers, anxious to wipe away the stain on their arms, represented to the Nawab that as yet no re-inforcements from Bengal had come to the English troops, and that his army was quite sufficient to destroy the few men in Benares. The Nawab readily fell into their views, and sending his family and effects to Lucknow, marched towards

* This name may be cited Reilly, Wrightley, or Ritchie.

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Benares. Arriving at Khiswa, he left his baggage there, and from thence marched to Benares with an army of picked and experienced soldiers. Shewpoor was chosen as the most favourable place to offer battle, and there for some days the armies faced each other. The English officers, both on account of the smallness of their force and of the uncertainty whether their advance from Patna would be sanctioned in England, were more inclined to treat than to fight; and in fact, Major Steinbelt came with a few Sepoys to the Nawab, and proposed a cessation of hostilities, to which he found the Nawab not disinclined. On this very day, however, he was superseded by the arrival of Major Fulcher from Calcutta, who was determined to fight.

On the armies being drawn up in order of battle, and a few cannon shot falling among the Nawab's men, they broke and fled like crows or kites, leaving the Nawab with a few followers in the field. He, although confounded at this turn of fortune, held his ground, until his officers persuaded him to turn his horse; and Sumroo, the Feringhee, whose troops had not till then been arrayed, escorted him towards Jounpoor, whence he went to Fyzabad, and taking his womenkind with him, departed from there to the country of the Afghans.

Colonel Carnac, completely victorious, remained at the head of affairs in Benares, and sent for Bulwunt Singh from Latifpoor, whither he had fled through fear of being called to account by the Nawab. On his arrival he was granted the Government of the four provinces; Mr. Marriot, with a few companies of Sepoys, being appointed as Suzawul to ensure regular payment of the revenue.

Major Fulcher and Captain Dowker, at the head of two regiments of Sepoys, were despatched by way of Ramnuggur, to lay siege to Chunar Fort, while Colonel Carnac with all his forces, accompanied the Emperor towards Allahabad.

The siege of the fort at Chunar had lasted nearly a month, and Colonel Carnac seeing it was not to be taken by force of arms, and the Emperor being then encamped on the banks of the Ganges at Mirzapore, he brought the latter thence to Chunar, and obtained from him the imperial orders to Syndee Busher Khan and Syndee Bulo

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Khan to deliver up the fort. As Syndee Busher Khan and his men knew of the capture of Allahabad Fort and of the flight of the Nawab from his kingdom, they had no resource but to submit to the Emperor's commands, and, obtaining the English officer's permission, they evacuated the fort by a small gate, with all their property. The English troops then took possession of the fort.

Narrative of events of the year 1179 *Hijree. The Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla meets Lord Clive and makes peace.*

THE Nawab at the head of a Mahratta army having been again defeated at Kora, fled to Furruckabad. General Carnac took pity on his misfortunes, and sent confidential messengers to him with offers of peace; and the Nawab, whose heartfelt desire this was, came at once from Furruckabad with a host of attendants to Jajmow, where the English army was encamped. General Carnac, on learning of his approach, hastened with all his English officers and men to meet him. On the Nawab's elephant coming in sight, the General alighted from his horse, and made obeisance, as would a Hindoostani officer. The Nawab, descending from his elephant, saluted General Carnac, who, with his officers, presented him with nuzzurs. The General then brought his palanquin, in which he placed the Nawab, while he and all his officers attended the procession on foot to the place which had been prepared beforehand for the Nawab. The whole of the tents, baggage, and property of the Nawab, which had fallen into the hands of the English after the battles of Sheopoor and Kora, were then sent back to him as a nuzzur. Some days then passed in exchanging compliments and presents.

When the discussion on the terms of peace came on, General Carnac required that Allahabad and Kora should be given up to the allies of the Emperor; that the rest of his territories should be placed under imperial officials, and further, that something towards the expenses of the English in the late campaigns should be paid. It was agreed that this sum should be fixed at fifty lacs, half in cash down, and half as a charge upon the revenues of Benares and other districts. On the day the treaty was being written out, General Carnac stated that he had learnt that Lord Clive had been appointed

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Governor-General, and had arrived in Calcutta ; that until his wishes were known, the treaty could not be made ; and that the Nawab's best course would be to go to meet the Governor-General in the Eastern Districts. To this the Nawab agreed, and having met the Emperor at Manikpoor, accompanied him to Allahabad. From Allahabad the Emperor, Nawab, and General Carnac journeyed to Benares in budgerows, and on reaching that place, found letters from Lord Clive to the Nawab and English officers, saying that he was then starting from Calcutta for the purpose of meeting the Nawab, who was to await his arrival in Benares. Accordingly, in the month of Rabi-oos-sani, 1169 Hijree, Lord Clive came, and was met by the Nawab, who went a long distance out for the purpose, and was received with great marks of friendliness.

Bulwunt Sing as usual, through fear of the Nawab, had fled from Ramnuggur to Latifpoor, and from there sent his Wakeels to Lord Clive to beg of him to effect a reconciliation between the Nawab and him.

The treaty was now drawn up, and among the conditions the following were inserted :—That the allies or enemies of one of the contracting parties should be also the allies or enemies of the other ; that one party should not give refuge to rebels or absconders from the country of the other ; that the Nawab was not to entertain any troops disciplined after the European method ; that Allahabad and Kora were to be given up to the Emperor as maintenance ; and lastly, that Bulwunt Sing was never to be ejected from possession of the four sircars. The Nawab agreed to all these terms except the last. He said : " Bulwunt Sing is a small zemindar subordinate to me, and I am the fittest person to judge whether he should be upheld or ejected, and the question of his protection was not one for discussion between the parties to this treaty." Lord Clive replied that Bulwunt Sing had been a steady friend to the English, and in return he would insist on his being upheld in his possession for this year ; that if during it he behaved to the satisfaction of the Nawab, well and good ; if not, then the Nawab could do as he liked afterwards.

The Nawab, compelled by circumstances, submitted and signed the treaty, and agreed to pay fifty lacs of rupees, half to be paid

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from the revenues of Benares and other districts, and half to be paid on his reaching Fyzabad.

Colonel Smith, with two regiments of Sepoys, was appointed to attend on the Emperor, and Major L——, with one regiment, upon the Nawab, who agreed to give one thousand rupees a month towards payment of their expenses.

Narrative of events in the year 1180 *Hijree. Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla goes to Chupra to take leave of Lord Clive, and attempts to obtain his consent to the expulsion of Bulwunt Sing.*

In the beginning of this year, Lord Clive wrote to the Nawab regarding the late war: that having been appointed by the King of England to settle affairs in Hindustan, he was happy to have been able to arrange everything peaceably; and, still further to strengthen the friendship between them, he would come to Patna to meet the Nawab before leaving India. The Nawab, who greatly desired to obtain Lord Clive's permission to dispossess Bulwunt Sing, at once started from Fyzabad, and proceeded through Goruckpore towards Chupra. Lord Clive, who had already arrived there, went out on hearing of the Nawab's approach to meet him, and received him with every mark of friendship and respect. The Nawab was conducted to a house specially prepared for him, and on both sides presents of valuables, Hindustani and English, were exchanged.

The Nawab, finding Lord Clive in such a friendly mood, made known to him his resentment and annoyance against Bulwunt Sing, and wished for permission to get rid of him. Lord Clive, however, who favoured Bulwunt Sing, after complimenting the Nawab, begged that he would forgive him; and the Nawab, seeing Lord Clive was not to be moved, consented to uphold Bulwunt Sing on condition of his paying an increase of ten lacs of revenue.

Bulwunt Sing, who was then in Lord Clive's camp, and most earnest in his attentions to General Carnac and the other English Officers, induced them to use their influence with Lord Clive on his behalf; and after much controversy, it was agreed that he should pay an increase of three lacs to his former revenue of twenty and a

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quarter lacs, and a covenant guaranteeing non-interference on the part of the Nawab with Bulwunt Sing's revenue was signed and sealed; Lord Clive, General Carnac, and the other English officers affixing their signatures as witnesses to the deed. Bulwunt Sing was then conducted to the presence of the Nawab, and the document handed him, and a khillut presented. An English official was also appointed to see that the instalments of revenue were regularly paid into the Nawab's treasury.

The Nawab then begged for the restoration of Chunar Fort, to which Lord Clive consented, on condition of obtaining the fort at Allahabad in exchange, and the papers confirming the transfers were duly executed by both parties. After some further interchange of civilities, the Nawab departed for Fyzabad, Lord Clive to Calcutta, and Bulwunt Sing returned to Benares to look after the affairs of his government.

Narrative of events of the year 1181 *Hijree. Arrival of Governor Cartier in Benares, to arrange differences between Bulwunt Sing and the Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla.*

In 1181 Hijree, Governor John Cartier, who had left Calcutta to look after the state of affairs in Moorshedabad and Patna, was met on his journey by frequent letters from Bulwunt Sing to the effect that he had always been, and was, the steady friend of the English; that lately the Nawab was only prevented from effecting his ruin through the interference of Lord Clive, who upheld his cause, and established him in possession of his territories, in which he was up to the present time maintained by the presence of English troops; that the Nawab was again plotting against his security, and preparing to advance on Benares; that an army and warlike stores were being got together, giving rise to suspicions of his intentions in the minds of the English officials; and that the Nawab should be asked what these intentions really were.

Governor Cartier, having settled affairs at Patna, came to Benares, and was met there by the Nawab, who came alone from Fyzabad for the purpose.

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The Nawab, finding Mr. Cartier well disposed towards him, sent trustworthy agents to make known his plans. He stated to Mr. Cartier that Bulwunt Sing derived an income of sixty lacs a year from the four sircars; that, on account of the support of the English, he behaved with great contumacy towards the Nawab; and that if Mr. Cartier would only allow the Nawab to settle matters with Bulwunt Sing without interfering, a present of ten lacs of rupees would he paid him. On this Mr. Cartier began to shew the cold shoulder to Bulwunt Sing, and left the management of his affairs to the Nawab's officials, and the Nawab, with Mr. Cartier's acquiescence, made preparations to arrest Bulwunt Sing. He called his Darogah of Artillery, and told him that Bulwunt Sing, relying on the presence of the English troops, came daily without suspicion to the Durbar; that when at the usual time he next came to pay his respects, the Chobdars were to refuse admittance to any of his followers, and further were to take from him his dagger, and bring him unarmed into the presence. Accordingly, next day at the usual hour, Bulwunt Sing came to attend the Durbar. Something struck him in the appearance of things as suspicious, and sending for Lal Khan, Dalel Khan, and his other officers, he warned them that if, when he alighted from his palkee to enter the Durbar, the Nawab's officials should act in any way different from their customary habit, they were to surround and seize him, and demand their arrears of pay, and prevent his entering the Durbar. Accordingly, as he was getting out of his palkee, the Chobdars and Mace-bearers acted in an unusual manner, and the Chamberlain came forward and requested him to deliver up his dagger. Bulwunt Sing was withdrawing it from his belt, when with one accord his Risaldars rushed on him, and with shouts and abuse seized him, demanding payment of their arrears. The attendants at the Durbar, although in great numbers, were alarmed at the tumult and withdrew; and Bulwunt Sing, getting into his palkee, came straight from the Nawab's Court to the residence of the Governor. The Nawab, enraged at the escape of his victim, mounted his elephant, and pursued him, resolved to seize him on the road wherever he should meet him, but did not overtake him until they both at the same moment arrived at the Governor's house, and Bulwunt Sing had just entered the Governor's presence. The Governor, seeing the alarm exhibited by Bulwunt Sing, and that he was pur-

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sued by the Nawab, ordered Major Monro, his confidential aide-de-camp, to take Bulwunt Sing apart, and, after quieting his fears to ask the true reason for the Nawab's enmity against him, while he himself received the Nawab in a friendly manner. Major Monro, on inquiring the cause of the Nawab's anger, was told by Bulwunt Sing that for a length of time he had been the friend and ally of the English and had persuaded Raja Beni Bahadur to become the same; that at the battles of Purcha Buharee and Buxar he had incurred disgrace by the assistance he had given the English in defeating the Nawab, who from that day had resolved on extirpating him root and branch from his possessions; that on a previous occasion Lord Clive had protected him in his rights, and that now he claimed the same assistance and support, in return for which he was ready to give a nuzzur of ten lakhs to the Governor and one lakh to him, Major Monro. The Major then informed the Governor of these statements, and so explained matters that the Governor represented to the Nawab that, although he felt sure he was quite justified in his conduct towards Bulwunt Sing, yet as the signature of Lord Clive as a witness was attached to a covenant of the Nawab's in which Bulwunt Sing's misdeeds were forgiven, contents of which document were known to the council, and a copy of it taken home by Lord Clive and laid before the King and Parliament and the Company, that as the ink was hardly dry in this document, if anything contrary to its purport were now to happen and become known to the Company, what justifications could be given of his own conduct in permitting it. The Nawab, hearing this, and being unwilling to oppose the Governor, professed his willingness to become reconciled, and the Governor accordingly brought forth Bulwunt Sing to the feet of the Nawab, who immediately asked him for a loan of 15 lakhs of rupees. Bulwunt Sing consented to lend ten lakhs on condition of renewal of the covenant, which was to be effected through the English officials. Mr. Cartier then went away, leaving Mr. Chamier in Benares, and the latter within one month sent 10 lakhs of rupees obtained from Bulwunt Sing to Fyzabad, to the Nawab, which sum was deducted by Elich Khan from the instalments of the year's revenue. Governor Cartier and Major Monro had not long been in Calcutta when Warren Hastings, appointed Governor-General, arrived there from Madras, and both Mr. Cartier and Major Monro went to England without

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obtaining their promised nuzzurs from Bulwunt Sing for procuring his forgiveness from the Nawab; and it was not until long after that Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief, being on a tour of inspection of the English forces, and on his way to Lucknow, obtained from Rajah Cheit Sing, with the Governor-General's consent, the one lakh promised to Major Monro.*

Narrative of the events of the year 1184 *Hijree. Death of Bulwunt Sing, and the disturbances that arose during his illness.*

It is said that in his old age Bulwunt Sing fell into the bad habits usually attributed to youth, and spent all his time with harlots; and to increase his power of gratifying his lust, took all sorts of potions which destroyed his health; sores appeared all over his body, and from excess, he became dropsical. His physicians exerted all their skill, and at length ceased their efforts, finding them of no avail. His protracted illness caused great confusion and disturbances; the zemindars whom he had overcome rose in revolt and ejected his Amils from many pergunnahs. Foujdar Khan, a resident of Muchhleeshuhur, having forged a document purporting to be a grant of the Government of Muchhleeshuhur under the seal of Mirza Akbar Shah, Shahzadah, came and assumed, with as many men as he could collect, the Government of the place. Meer Hidayat Ali, a brave man and an old friend of Foujdar Khan, with a few followers, came into the Fort, seized Duswunt Sing, the Foujdar, and regardless of his objections, was ejecting him, when his men shut the gates. One of Meer Hidayat Ali's men on this stabbed Duswunt Sing in the stomach, and in the struggle which followed, Hidayat Ali was killed. Boodh Sing, Foujdar of Pergunnah Moongra, and his brother Bishoon Sing, who was in the town on his way from Moongra to Benares, hearing of the disturbances, hastened to Duswunt Sing's assistance, but were killed at the gate of the Fort by Foujdar Khan's men, who then took possession of it. Duswunt Sing was taken by his followers to the Fort of Sagar. Foujdar Khan, who might have now escaped and gone wherever he chose, was fated to meet his death without reaping

* Note.—The most part of the above is not in the Urdu translation, and I am doubtful of its correctness.

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any advantage from his schemes, for the next day Dhan Sing, Foujdar of Gurwarah, with 15 sowars and 60 footmen, attacked and captured him; he was beheaded, and all his men killed or wounded. Bulwunt Sing, who was at the point of death, on hearing of these occurrences, collected his strength, and came some distance towards the place, but was obliged to return, and appointed several of his Risaldars to quell the revolt.

As he still felt no confidence in the friendship of the Nawab, he, through Syud Noor-ool-Husen, sent some money as nuzzur to Mohomed Elich Khan, making him his agent, and as the approach of death was now evident, he began to think of appointing his successor. It had formerly been his intention to name Baboo Maniar Sing as his successor, but Rani Goolab, when he wished to make his intentions public, created fearful uproar, crying that although Baboo Muheep Narain was still too young to rule, yet no one had a stronger right to succeed than he; and until he came of age his father, Baboo Doorbijye Sing, could act as guardian and deputy. Baboo Ousan Sing, however, the most influential man of all those about Bulwunt Sing, had his own opinion, and brought Bulwunt Sing to agree with him. He urged that Cheit Sing was the Rajah's offspring, and in the presence of a son, neither a nephew nor a grandson had any right to succeed him. Every day the adherents of each of the three candidates advocated their claims to Bulwunt Sing, until on the 16th of Bhadon, in the year 1177 Fuslee, agreeing to 1184 Hijri, being at point of death, he desired to be carried from Ramnuggur to Benares, and on the way died. His corpse was taken to Mankamka Ghât and there burnt.

Rani Goolab Koour and Baboo Maniar Sing still put forth their claims, but seeing Baboo Ousan Sing was master of the situtation, they gave them up and kept quiet.

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CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE ACCESSION TO POWER OF RAJA CHET SING IN 1184 HIJREE, THE ARRIVAL OF THE NAWAB SHOOJA-OOD-DOWLA IN RAMNUGGUR, AND THE CONFIRMATION BY HIM OF CHET SING'S SUCCESSION.

After the kinsmen and friends of Raja Bulwunt Sing had burnt his body, they returned each one to his duty at Ramnuggur, Baboo Ousan Sing, who was the chief minister and manager of the affairs of the state, won over all the officials, Risaldars, and others, to his side, and made his own arrangements carrying on the work in the several Treasuries and other offices. Through his friend, Syud Noorool Husen Khan, an agreement was come to with Elich Khan, by which, on payment of 22 lacs, Chet Sing was to be confirmed in his possession, and Sheikh Ali Nukee was sent to Calcutta to obtain the Governor-General's consent to the arrangement. Further, Medni Rao, grandson of Rajah Prithweeput of Pertabgurh, was sent for to give the "tiluk" to Chet Sing—a ceremony the performance of which had from of old belonged to his family, and which he now fulfilled in regard to Chet Sing and endued him with the rank of Rajah.

The Nawab, hearing of the death of Bulwunt Sing, had started from Fyzabad; on his journey he was met by Lyud Soorool Husen Khan, who had already brought over Elich Khan in Chet Sing's interest.

Elich Khan moulded the Nawab into acquiescence with his plans, and represented that, as he had come so far, the Nawab might as well honour Benares with his presence, and there, if he should find the marks and signs of a ruler upon Chet Sing's countenance, he might confirm the latter's accession to government; but if he should find him insolent or refractory, he might be at once seized and sent away, and his territories bestowed upon whomsoever the Nawab thought fit; and so it was settled.

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Elich Khan then wrote secretly to Chet Sing to come at once and without fear to Jounpoor, and submit his plans and intentions to the Nawab.

Chet Sing's good fortune not having yet deserted him, and his counsellors approving, he took this advice and came immediately from Ramnuggur, and, on arriving at the environs of Jounpoor, had an audience of the Nawab. At this interview he spoke as follows:— "Your servant, only desirous of being your slave, presents himself before you, wishing to become a Mussulman and to remain in your service. Bestow the lands and money left by my father on whom you will; a morsel of bread will suffice for your slave."

The Nawab's heart softened on hearing these words, and he looked with favour upon him. Chet Sing then begged a further indulgence, saying,—"If this weak and lowly one has been honoured by being permitted to be your slave, still more exalt him in the eyes of his equals by coming to Benares and there conferring upon him your recognition accordingly." On the 20th of Jamadi-ool-awul, 1184 Hijree, the Nawab entered Benares.

Baboo Ousan Sing, who had made every fitting preparation for the reception of the Nawab and his nobles, and had pleased every one by his courtesy and kindness, petitioned through Elich Khan that the Nawab would visit Ramnuggur, to which the Nawab, with great condescension, agreed. The Rajah's officials, under orders from Ousan Sing, had decorated the shops and bazaars of Ramnuggur with many-coloured hangings and awnings, while for the Nawab the Gunga Muhul was prepared with mirrors, silken curtains, and carpets of velvet and damask, until it equalled Irum (paradise). On the 25th of Jamadi-ool-awul, accompanied by his sons and the nobles of the state, the Nawab crossed the river and entered Ramnuggur like as the spirit enters the body. At the river bank were assembled the Baboos of the family, the Risaldars, and other chief officers, headed by Baboo Ousan Sing, who met the Nawab with due reverence, and presented nuzzurs to each of the visitors suitable to their rank and station. On the Nawab's entry into the Gunga Muhul, he introduced Chet Sing to his son and heir, the Nawab Asuf-ood-dowla, and commanded them to exchange their turbans. Chet Sing

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replied,—"The turban of my lord upon my head is an honour and distinction, but who am I to place my turban on his head? I, who am unworthy to place it even on the head of his lowest servant?" The Nawab was highly pleased at this, and by his orders Asuf-ood-dowla placed his turban on Chet Sing's head and saluted him as brother. Chet Sing, gratified at the kindness and condescension of the Nawab, produced a list of all his possessions, of every sort, and placed it at his feet, on which the Nawab, feeling assured of his fidelity and allegiance, returned it, and conferred them all upon Chet Sing. Chet Sing then presented the Nawab with a "chubootrah" composed of one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees, also forty-five trays of rich garments, two trays of jewels, fifteen horses, and five elephants, while to the Nawab Asuf-ood-dowla and other princes and nobles presents suitable to their rank were made, all of which were graciously accepted.

The Nawab having then given Chet Sing his khillut as Rajah, and elevated him to the dignity of his son, summoned all the Baboos of the family to his presence and desired their obedience and loyalty to their new Rajah, after which he returned to Fyzabad.

Narrative of the events of the year 1186 *Hijree: Arrival of the Governor-General Hastings at Benares, and meeting between him and Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla, together with other occurrences.*

In 1175 Hijree, Hafiz Rahmut Khan and the other Afghan leaders having been overcome by the Mahrattas under Ramchunder Gunesh, Bhaiajee, Toopajee, and Muhajee Sindia, and been hopeless of being able to expel the invaders unaided, applied to Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla for assistance, promising that if he should despatch an army to their help, its entire cost from the day of its leaving Fyzabad to that of its return would be defrayed by them.

The Nawab, willing enough to fight the Mahrattas, consented and marched at once, and came in front of their army under Ramchunder Gunesh at Ramghat. Ramchunder did not think himself able to cope with the Nawab, and asked for peace, sending off, however, Tookajee Holkar with 30,000 valiant cavalry to attack and devastate the Afghan country about Moradabad. The next day the

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Nawab was informed of this by a letter from Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and leaving 15,000 infantry and 2,000 horse under Muhboob Ali Khan to watch Ramchunder, he himself, by a forced march of six hours, reached Moradabad. Tookajee, on hearing of his presence, avoided an engagement and retired towards Ramghat, hoping to fall upon Muhboob Ali unawares; but the Nawab foreseeing this had despatched Murtaza Khan, Barech Alum Khan, Jafir Khan, Sheikh Ihsan, and other officers to support Muhboob Ali. The Mahrattas, foiled in their plans, retreated without drawing rein to Khoorjah Shikarpore, a distance of four stages. There they halted for some days, and then, for reasons which it would be tedious to enumerate, returned to the Deccan. The Nawab, completely successful, returned to Fyzabad and, according to their agreement, demanded payment of the cost of the expedition from Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The Afghan leaders on this consulted together and arrived at the conclusion that as the Nawab had not fired a shot against the Mahrattas, and that as it was merely by the will of God that his army had achieved such different results to those of their own, there was no necessity for paying the money; if, however, they were pressed for payment, they would divide the money among the soldiers and fight him. Having determined on this course, they wrote calumniatory letters to the Governor-General to the following effect:—"The Nawab is at heart your enemy, and has asked us to assist him in carrying on war against you; we, through friendship for you, have not given any encouragement to these overtures, of which we now inform you, and warn you not to be deceived by his fair speaking. If a full understanding between us be come to, we will subjugate his kingdom and divide it with you in equal shares." As evidence of the truth of these statements, they forged letters purporting to be from the Nawab to the foregoing effect, and sent them to Calcutta. At the same time they wrote to the Nawab, in reply to his demand for payment, that they had not such a sum of money in their possession, but they had a well-equipped army, with which they would join the Nawab if he felt inclined to attack and drive the English from the country, and for this service no payment would be asked.

The Governor-General, whose suspicions had been aroused by the warlike preparations of the Nawab, was still further strengthened

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in them by the arrival of these letters, and he demanded explanations from Captain Harper, the Nawab's Agent in Calcutta. Not satisfied with these, and after consulting with George Vansittart, the skilful in war, and other experienced officers, he determined to go himself and ascertain the Nawab's intentions. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1186 Hijree, in the middle of the rainy season, he proceeded by boat up the river, leaving orders to the commanding officer of the troops at Moorshedabad to prepare for a campaign.

Captain Harper and other officers, who felt convinced of the Nawab's friendliness, wrote him frequent letters reporting how the suspicions of the Governor-General had been excited by the letters of the Afghans, telling him at the same time not to be alarmed, but to come with all his family to Benares and there confer with the Governor-General and remove his suspicions. The Nawab, greatly disturbed at these tidings, started for Benares, unaccompanied by other than his family and servants, although it was the rainy season, and elephants the only mode of conveyance. It so happened that the news of the near approach of the Governor-General, and of the arrival of the Nawab at Jounpoor, reached Rajah Chet Sing at the same time, and by the advice of his friends he went out to Syudpoor to meet the former. The Nawab on marching from Jounpore, and not being met by Chet Sing, became very angry, and complained of this neglect to Elich Khan. Elich Khan, who was in Chet Sing's interest, foreseeing that troubles might arise in the future from this inattention, sent off camel sowars to ascertain the cause of Chet Sing's absence and to tell him of the Nawab's anger. The sowars reached Syudpoor, and Chet Sing, on being informed of their errand, told the Governor-General, mounted a swift horse and galloped to Sheopoor. On seeing the Nawab's elephant he dismounted and approached the Nawab on foot, holding out a bag of goldmohurs as a nuzzur. The Nawab, highly incensed, would not look at him, and for a long way he ran on foot beside the elephant. At last, at the intercession of Elich Khan, the elephant driver, Kaim Khan, was permitted to take the bag and place it on the howda; the Nawab then proceeded to Benares, and alighted at Pesach Mochun, while the Governor-General, who had also arrived, stopped at the Madho Das Bagh.

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The vakeels on both sides now began to pass to and fro; those from the Governor-General bearing accusations of the Nawab's treachery, and those from the Nawab disclaiming any such intention.

The Governor-General brought forth the letters from the Afghans in proof of his assertions, while the Nawab, greatly astonished also, produced those which he had received from them. The double-dealing of the Afghans was thus made apparent, and the suspicions of the Governor-General removed.

A council was then held, at which it was determined to be the duty of the English and the Nawab to punish the treachery of the Afghans towards both.

A trustworthy person relates that at this time the Governor-General, being at variance with the Emperor, proposed to the Nawab that he should assume the imperial dignity, Shah Alum being Emperor but in name; that the coinage should bear his name, and "Khutba" be repealed for him; the conquest of Hindoostan to be made by the aid of the English army. The Nawab, whose ambition was great, received the proposal gladly, but made a condition that the East India Company should be his deputy, and should appoint the Governor-General to act for them. Further, he at once gave orders for tents and pavilions to be made of the imperial crimson colour, and for the preparation of other appurtenances of royalty. Nawab Salar Jung, a wise and far-seeing man, disapproved and discountenanced these acts of the Nawab as unfitting his station, telling him to be contented with his present possessions and to uphold the dynasty of Timour. The Nawab then considering the many difficulties which would inevitably arise gave up the idea and persuaded the Governor-General to do so as well.

The English army, under General Jenkins, was then placed at the disposal of the Nawab to act against the Afghans.

The Governor-General at this time was dissatisfied with the conduct of Muneer-ood-dowla, and proposed withdrawing from him the government of Soobah Allahabad and Chukla Kora, putting in his place Mr. Thorne and Mr. Anderson. The Nawab, however,

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through George Vansittart, "skilful in war," applied to have the provinces restored to him, and as the Governor-General was then in great want of money, he consented to do so on payment of forty lakhs by the Nawab. This was agreed to, and the Nawab returned to Fyzabad to raise the money; the Governor-General also returning to Calcutta.

The Nawab greatly desired that Muneer-ood-dowla should act as his duputy and take the government of Allahabad; but the latter, jealous of the Nawab, distinctly refused to serve under him, preferring to remain in a private station, in which, after some time, he died.

During the stay of the Governor-General at Benares, the Nawab took a favourable opportunity of sounding him as to the expulsion of Chet Sing. Ousan Sing, however, had formed a strong party in Chet Sing's interest among the officials about the Governor-General, and he also was favourably disposed towards him, so that he persuaded the Nawab to forego any such intention and to grant a new covenant to Chet Sing.

Narrative of events of the year 1186, *Hijree. Flight of Baboo Muniar Sing through the intrigues of Ousan Sing.*

When Chet Sing established himself in the confidence of the Nawab, Baboo Ousan Sing was his chief minister, and invested with the fullest authority throughout his territories. The other Baboos feared his power and submitted to it, thinking themselves fortunate to enjoy his favour. Baboo Muniar Sing alone declined to bow before him, and him Ousan Sing determined to humble. To effect this, he told Chet Singh that the whole of the kinsmen and caste-fellows of Bulwunt Sing looked on him with scorn; that no better plan for lowering their pride presented itself than to ask each and all of them to eat with him: those who consented would be his friends, while those who refused would be like a thorn in the eye to the others. Chet Sing, with the impetuosity of youth, approved of the plan, and was further directed to ask Baboo Muniar Sing first, as he was the nearest relative. Accordingly, sending for him, he made known his desire. Muniar Sing, a proud high-minded

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man, refused the invitation and incensed Chet Sing, and then seeing how the wind blew, that Ousan Sing was behind the scenes and plotting his ruin and imprisonment, escaped from Ramnuggur to Benares. Not being safe even there, he retired to Allahabad, and Ousan Sing confiscated all his property.

Narrative of events of the year 1187 *Hijree: Departure of Baboo Ousan Sing from Benares for Allahabad, and what happened to him.*

In the days when Ousan Sing was at the height of his power his haughtiness was excessive, as also was his contempt for all the kinsmen of Rajah Bulwunt Sing. One day as some of his friends were walking by the river-side, they observed there two fakeers who were performing some incantations; going up to them, and professing themselves friends of Baboo Muniar Sing, they asked the fakeers for a charm which should work good to Muniar Sing and evil to Ousan Sing, for which they would pay liberally. The fakeers, deceived by these men's falsehood, foolishly wrote out a charm, which was immediately brought to Ousan Sing, and he, as recompense to the fakeers, ordered them to be seized and their noses and hands to be cut off—a punishment from the effects of which they both died almost immediately.

Retribution for this cruel act speedily fell on Ousan Sing in this wise. About this time, the wife of his younger brother, Baboo Soojan Sing, died, and on the day of the funeral feast, when the dinner was ready, Rajah Chet Sing summoning Ousan Sing ordered him to ascertain who would partake of it and who were likely to refuse, so that there might be no slight offered him when he invited them to eat. Ousan Sing replied that no one would attempt to decline the invitation, and going out ordered sepoys to bring by force all those Baboos who were unwilling to attend. Baboos Jagardeo Sing, Jugut Sing, Zalim Sing, Pertabroodur Sing, and many others on this came to the Rajah and stated they were willing to eat with him, but that Ousan Sing, who was a Goutum Brahmin and a relative, and, besides, was the highest in rank, he also should partake of the dinner. The Rajah, saying to himself that

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Ousan Sing is my friend and well-wisher, and certainly will not refuse, approved of the Baboo's proposal and sent for Ousan Sing. He, however, was determined not to partake of the dinner, and excusing himself under the plea of a headache, retired to the portico of the fort and laid down on a bed. Mahomed Ameen, commander of the regiment of sepoys, and a protegé of Ousan Sing, came to him here and told him "all the other Baboos are dining together, and a chobdar is coming to bring you; in case you still refuse, it is likely something unpleasant will happen." Ousan Sing becoming uneasy left the fort and came to his own house, and summoning friends bade them be prepared for a fight. The other Baboos who were partakers of the dinner on hearing Ousan Sing's flight begun to murmur, and the Rajah, still young and hot-headed, rose in anger from dinner and sent for Meer Golam Hossein, Darogha of Artillery, Balkishun Hazaree and Bhairam Mahajun, men upon whose advice he usually relied, and demanded of them whether they were his friends and followers, or if they were adherents of Ousan Sing. They with one voice swore they were faithful to him alone. The Rajah then ordered Bakur Khan, the public crier, to proclaim to the whole army that those who were loyal to the Rajah should present themselves, and those who were followers of Ousan Sing were to go to him. On this the whole army—horse, foot, and artillery—separated themselves from Ousan Sing and went to their homes, with the exception of Kazim Ali Khan, Jounpooree; Ikram Khan, Muneem Khan, of Zumaneeah, and Fuzl Ali Khan, son of Meer Rustam Ali Khan, who refused to desert him. At night Rajah Chet Sing went himself to Ousan Sing to ask the reason for his conduct; he obtained no satisfactory explanation, and took Ousan Sing back with him on his elephant to the fort, where the Rajah's mother tried her utmost to persuade him to remain. Ousan Singh, however, was not to be persuaded, and returned to his own house.

The next day, by the advice of his friends, Chet Sing, sitting in state in his *Dewankhanah*, formally invited all his adherents and presented each in his degree with a suitable khillut.

Baboos Pemnarain, Brahmadut, cousin of Bulwunt Sing, Ajaib Sing, and some others who refused to join the feast and adhered

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to Ousan Sing's side, had guards placed over their houses to prevent ingress or egress, or any communications being held with them.

Ousan Sing on hearing of this, and knowing that he himself would be in all probability placed in the same position as these Baboos, under pretence of visiting his mother, who was lying sick in Mouzah Darikhoo, near Gungapoor, left Ramnuggur at once, and guarded by 200 devoted men went to Darikhoo, where he remained for some time in hourly dread of being called to account. A Sirdar sent by the Rajah came daily to summon him, but was met by some excuse or other, until one day it was rūmoured that a force was being despatched to arrest him. That evening Ousan Sing fled on foot for some miles, until overtaken by his equipage and followers, who conveyed him quickly out of Chet Sing's territories into those of the Subadar of Allahabad.

It so happened that at this very time Baboo Muniar Sing was living at Jhoosi, and on Ousan Singh's arrival there, he was recognized, arrested, and carried before the Baboo. Shewumber Sing, Muniar's brother, desired to kill him then and there, but was prevented by Muniar, who said that "what has befallen me it was my fate to suffer; do not interfere with Ousan Sing."

The latter, a cunning shrewd man, so flattered and wheedled Muniar Sing that he was completely deceived by his protestations of the shame he felt at his conduct, and with his offers to procure for him the Government of Benares through friends he had at the Nawab's Court.

Muniar Sing took the bait, and fully believing all he said let him go, and he immediately crossed the river into Allahabad. Meanwhile, Rajah Chet Sing had procured, through Elich Khan, orders from the Nawab to Kirpadial, Subadar of Allahabad, for the arrest of both Muniar Sing and Ousan Sing. The latter getting knowledge of this fled across the Jumna to Chitr Kot, in Bundelkhund; and Muniar Singh, hopeless and helpless, claimed the protection of Nouroz Ali Khan, Amil of Sultanpoor and Pertabgurh, which was freely and courteously given him.

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Narrative of events of the year 1188 *Hijree Rajah Chet Sing effects the expulsion from Lucknow of Ousun Sing and Muniar Sing; the latter comes to Ramnuggur, and the former goes to Moorshedabad.*

MUNIAR SING remained for a length of time under the protection of Nouroz Ali Khan, until letters from Chitr Kot from Ousan Sing arrived asking him how long he intended to continue wandering about, and proposing their both going to Lucknow, where he, Ousan Sing, would not rest day or night until he had procured for him, though Elich Khan, the government of the Benares provinces. Muniar Sing replied in a most friendly manner and asked Ousan Sing to come to Pertabgurh. He accordingly came, and after some further consultations they determined to go to Fyzabad. Rajah Chet Sing, on learning their intention, gained over the Nawab's officials to his side and procured an order for the expulsion of Ousan Sing and Muniar Sing from Lucknow. Muniar Sing, now quite helpless, made overtures of submission to Chet Sing, who sent letters summoning them both to Ramnuggur, couched in the most friendly terms. Muniar Sing accordingly went, and was overwhelmed with favours by the Rajah, but Ousan Sing, not thinking it safe to trust himself in Ramnuggur, took his departure for Patna through Azimgurh. Arriving at Patna, he wished to proceed to Calcutta, but failing to obtain the Governor-General's permission, stopped short at Moorshedabad.

Death of Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla and accession of his son, Asuf-ood-dowla.

AFTER the defeat of the Afghans, the Nawab marched from Bussowlee and besieged Fyz-oollah Khan in Daldatuk (?) While so engaged he was attacked by sickness which his intemperance increased and protracted; he therefore came to term with Fyz-oollah Khan and returned to Fyzabad, where he died on the 24th of Zikad 1188 Hijree, and was succeeded on the throne the same day by his younger son, Asuf-ood-dowla. At his accession Asuf-ood-dowla made his *khansamah*, Meer Murtaza Khan, his minister of state, giving him the title of Mookhtar-ood-dowla, Bahadoor, with high rank and privileges: and the minister's first act was to prepare for

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submission to the Nawab a list of "maafees" and pensions, many of which had been resumed and sequestrated in the time of Nawab Seadut Khan and Nawab Sufdur Jung and others, by Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla, and the grantees of which had thereby been reduced to great distress and even beggary. The Nawab ordered their immediate restoration, and perwannahs were sent to all his Amils to forego all demands from those who could produce written proof of their titles to exemption; and on this becoming known, the grantees hastened from every side and got their own again.

Rajah Chet Sing, however, entirely disregarded these orders, saying that he had enjoyed possession during the late Nawab's reign, and until a private letter from Elich Khan should be received, no attention was to be paid to perwannahs bearing only a seal; so that the wretched maafeedars in his territories saw the river of bounty flowing before their eyes, and were unable to quench their thirst in its waters. This state of things lasted for some months, until Mookhtar-ood-dowla, devoting himself entirely to women and wine, ceased from the performance of his duties. Then Anwar, a eunuch, his deputy, closed the door of charity and re-issued orders for resumption and sequestration. I, myself, enjoyed a maafee of the value of some Rs. 2,000 a year in Zillah Benares, which Chet Sing took possession of, paying me that amount in coin. When the general restoration took place, I obtained a perwannah for the restitution of my villages through Meer Muhamad Amjad, of the Mookhtar's office, under Captain Conder (?), but was put off under various excuses, until the order of that malignant beast of a eunuch became known, when Chet Sing stopped the payment of the money he had previously made and confiscated my villages.

Narrative of events of the year 1189 *Hijree. Mr. John Bristow takes the four Sircars from the Nawab Asuf-ood-dowla; Mr. Fowke appointed as Suzawul thereof.*

In the month of Shaban of this year there arrived in Calcutta, in great state, General Clavering, Colonel (?) Monson, and Mr. Francis, appointed Councillors over all the affairs of Hindustan by the King

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of England. These three gentlemen all held the same opinions, and as Mr. Barwell was his only adherent, the Governor-General was in a minority in the Council. His enemies flocking to the three Councillors with accusations of misgovernment against him, increased their hostility and caused the whole business of Government to become disarranged. Mr. Middleton, the Governor-General's Agent at the Court of the Nawab, hearing of these contentions, came from Lucknow to Calcutta, and was dismissed from his appointment by General Clavering, Mr. John Bristow being put in his place. At the same time came the news of the death of Nawab Shooja-ood-dowla and of the misconduct of the ministers of his successor. Mr. Bristow, being indued with full powers by the three Councillors, left Calcutta for Lucknow. It chanced that the Nawab and Mookhtar-ood-dowla were in the neighbourhood of Etawah at this time, and with them were Colonel Bowler (?) and Captain Conder (?). These officers, in conjunction with the Nawab's ministers, concealed from him and from Mookhtar-ood-dowla the fact of Mr. Bristow's appointment and of the business upon which he was coming, giving out that it was merely some trifling matter, so that, upon his arrival, he was received slightingly by the Nawab, and consequently much offended. For some days he remained quiet, until he had made himself acquainted with the state of affairs about him; then, under orders from the Council, Colonel Bowler (?) and Captain Conder (?) were dismissed from their appointments with the Nawab's army. Then the Nawab and Mookhtar-ood-dowla awoke from their dreams of security and humbled themselves before him, only to be treated as they had previously treated him on his arrival. He sent for Mookhtar-ood-dowla, and merely to intimidate the Nawab and inspire him with a proper sense of his (Mr. Bristow's) importance, said that the Emperor Shah Alum had bestowed the four Sircars as a jagheer on the English, and that Lord Clive had made them over to the late Nawab only as a temporary measure; that the Council had now determined to resume the government, while the Nawab might continue to rule his paternal inheritance. This information confounded Mookhtar-ood-dowla, and he begged for some delay. Mr. Bristow gave him till the evening, telling him that, whether he consented to the arrangement or opposed it, his answer must be given at the appointed time.

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Some of the Nawab's advisers held that the Council had given no authority to Mr. Bristow to make such a demand, and that he had merely put it forth for the purpose of alarming the Nawab; that if the Nawab remained firm, and proceeded to Calcuta, as he already had intended doing, Mr. Bristow would at once withdraw his demand. On the other hand, Mookhtar-ood-dowla urged upon the Nawab that it was not worth his while to excite the enmity of the English for so small a part of the great possessions God had given him; that it was much better to give up the four Sircars, and so pacify Mr. Bristow, and obtain at the same time a covenant of non-interference on the part of the English with the rest of his dominions. This counsel was followed, and in the evening Mookhtar-ood-dowla informed Mr. Bristow of the consent to his demands. Mr. Bristow, a cunning man, then persuaded Mookhtar-ood-dowla to have the deed of surrender by the Nawab of the four Sircars to be so written that it would appear to be of his own free will, and not as if he had known of the demands of the Council that he resigned them; and the Nawab's officials were so devoid of sense that as Mr. Bristow dictated, so they wrote and made over to him the "sunnud." On the news of this "good service" of Mr. Bristow's reaching Calcutta there was great rejoicing by the three Councillors and their friends. Mr. Fowke, a dependant of theirs, was appointed "Suzawul" at Benares, and Rajah Chet Sing was continued in his government, paying a revenue of Rs. 2,25,000. The maafeedars and pensioners again petitioned Rajah Chet Sing for restitution of their rights, and also sent a vakeel to the Council at Calcutta to obtain their permission; but after spending much time and failing to get a hearing, he returned with his errand unfulfilled.

Narrative of events in the year 1190 *Hijree. Disturbances in Jounpoor between Mussulmans and Hindoos regarding a temple; Army sent by Chet Sing to quell them.*

In this year Sewan Mahajun, a resident of Muhulla Hummam Durwaza in Jounpoor, began the erection of a heathen temple between the musjid of "Asar qudam Sharif" and "Punjah Moobarak," on land in Mouzah Kunhiyapoor, planting a grove of

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mango trees about it, and celebrating idolatrous worship with conch blowing and other ceremonies. The attendants at both the musjids forbade these proceedings from the commencement, but Sewan heeded not their remonstrances, and finished the building with profuse expenditure, placing a gilt "trisool" at the top of the dome. The excitement grew fiercer daily, and Bakar Ali and Mahomed Nukee, two students, with others, determined to pull down the temple. The Mohurrum now began, and the students going to the assembled mourners demanded their aid, and were refused it. On the following Thursday, when crowds of townspeople and villagers were assembled at the musjid "Punjah Moobarak," the students again came forward and asked for help to destroy the idolatrous temple, the cause of their pious rage. Several persons then urged Sewan to take down the "trisool" from the dome of the temple; to put a few pitchers of water under the dome, and declare he intended the place as an "Abdarkhanah" for the "Huzrut Imam." That obstinate pagan Sewan, however, positively refused to do anything of the sort, and used most improper language. On hearing this the Musalmans became inflamed with holy zeal, and Abdoollah, a disciple of Syudee, cried that he desired to ascertain whether it was or was not the will of God and the Prophet that this temple should be destroyed, for which purpose he would fire his gun at the "trisool;" if the ball hit it, then he would understand it was the will of God and the Prophet that the place should be destroyed, but if not, he would abandon the work and keep silence. He fired and knocked the "trisool" to pieces. The shouts of those present arose louder than those of the celebrants of the Mohurrum, and the students rushed from the "Punjah Moobarak" towards the temple, declaring that Shah Mardan had ordered its destruction. The crowds of people pouring in from every side followed them, and in the twinkling of an eye the temple was so utterly destroyed that its site was unrecognizable, the very stones being carried away. Next day the Hindoos of the city closed their shops, and Sewan, the builder of the temple, Bhowani Dustooria, Shewpershad and others, the leaders of the assembly, determined, in revenge for the destruction of their temple, to pull down the "Punjah Moobarak" Musjid, and with this intention some 2,000 men assembled at the tank "Tika Sahoo." On this becoming known the Mussulmans gathered at the

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gate of the Kazee and brought him to the Juma Musjid ; by his orders the Mussulmans from the town and suburbs were collected, and began to consult what was to be done. Suddenly a man arose, saying, " while we are sitting here talking the Hindoos have started from " Tika Sahoo ;" at this the Mussulmans, with the drums, trumpets, and standards made ready for celebrating the Mohurrum, hastened to meet the Hindoos. At the bridge gates many hundreds of Hindoos were assembled, and one of them, a hurkarah of the English post-office, abused a Mussulman and split his drum, upon which one of the faithful, a bystander, cut him and another man down with his sword, and the Hindoos fled. Those who were in consultation at " Tika Sahoo" on hearing what had happened determined to go to Benares. The leaders of the citizens had just reached the cattle-market when they heard of the proposed flight of the Hindoos to Benares, and began to reflect that they might be called to account for their doings by the English ; they sent Rahim Khan and Dhoond Khan to " Tika Sahoo" to make friends with those still there. The envoys urged on the Hindoos to settle the quarrel and return to their former friendly footing with the Mussulmans, and most of them seemed disposed to do so, when one of them threw the assembly into alarm, crying that the Mussulmans were deceiving them and leading them into a false belief of security, until their associates, who were following, could come up and slaughter all the Hindoos without exception. Some paid no attention to this, but others, about 200 men, took their road to Benares and presented themselves before Mr. Fowke, crying for redress. By him they were referred to Rajah Chet Sing. The Rajah, on learning of the wrongs suffered by the Hindoos, was much perplexed and annoyed, and despatched Jyekurn Jouhuree as Ameen to investigate the matter. Jyekurn arrived at Jounpoor, and on 15th of Mohurrum proceeded to the Juma Musjid, whither he sommoned Namdar Khan, Foujdar ; Nesar Ali, Kotwal, and all the principal inhabitants of the town and suburbs, and questioned each and all of them as to who were the actual destroyers of the temple, and who the originators of the riot. They all gave the same reply, that in consequence of the crowd and confusion it was impossible to say who were the ringleaders. Jyekurn then sent a statement of the case, signed and sealed by the chief citizens, to the Rajah. The

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Hindoos at the time of the enquiry had indicated the Kazee and the Muftee Shah, Ajmeeree Sheikh, Nuzzur Muhamad, Alum and Hussun, principal weavers of the city, Roushan Khan, Balooch, Rustum Khan, and Dhoondh Khan, as the ringleaders and originators of the riot, and the Rajah ordered Nisar Ali Khan, Kiladar, to arrest and send these men to him. Nisar Ali sent all the above men, with the exception of Alum and Hussun, weavers, to the Rajah; these two men absolutely refused to go to Benares, and gathering all their kinsmen and caste-fellows, left the city and encamped outside, declaring that if the Rajah took steps to punish them for the destruction of the temple, they would abandon the country. Nisar Ali, recognizing the loss to the state which would occur if these men left the country, went out himself to them and succeeded in persuading them to return into the city, where they took up their quarters in the neighbourhood of the "Punjah Moobarak" Musjid.

The Kazee, Muftee, and others who had been sent before the Rajah remained under surveillance for three months, and were then, at the intercession of the Risaldars, let off on payment of Rs. 350 fine. The weavers, who still remained in temporary houses near the "Punjah Moobarak," on hearing what had befallen the Kazee and Muftee, became desirous of coming to terms with the Foujdar, and through Shah Kootub, a friend of his, matters were arranged.

In consequence of the friendly relations between the Foujdar and Shah Kootub, the Mussulmans of the city and the weavers used to flock to the latter in crowds, and at length some of them suggested to him that it was the custom of Mahomedans, when they had destroyed an idolatrous temple, to erect a musjid upon the same site, and that if he were to follow this rule and build a musjid on the site of the temple, he would become famous. Shah Kootub accordingly consented, and, without considering the consequences published a proclamation for the erection of a musjid. While these occurrences were taking place in Jounpoor, the zemindars of Budlapoor rebelled, and Chet Sing sent a force of 500 cavalry, 1,000 foot, and four guns, commanded by Mangli Khan and Namdar Khan, Jemadars, under Balkishun Hazaree, to coerce the rebels. The Jounpoor men settled it on their minds that this force was coming to rebuild the temple and prevent the erection of the musjid, and

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told Shah Kootub of its coming. The Shah raised the green flag, and the faithful crowded to it. The command of the Mussulman force was given by the Shah to Kaim Khan, Afghan, and Allah Yar Khan, Balooch, both astoundingly ignorant barbarians, and the Shah's orders were for the force to remain ready for action at the "Punjah Moobarak," and to make such arrangements that, before the Rajah's army could arrive, a musjid might be built and completed, and then to pull it down again would be a difficult matter to effect. All this while the Rajah's troops were marching from Mureahoo on Budlapoor, and the whole thing was the result of the headstrong bigotry of the people determined to erect a musjid where had been a temple. They took the stores and bricks lying near the "Punjah Moobarak" belonging to Lal Khan, and carrying them on their heads and shoulders speedily raised the new musjid above ground.

Rajah Chet Sing on hearing of these proceedings sent Jutimul, Vakeel, to Shah Kootub to pacify him by any means and put an end to the disturbances. Jutimul came to Shah Kootub, gave him some money and more flattery, and told him the Rajah had bestowed on him Mouzah Kunhyapoor with which to support fakeers, and requested him to use his best efforts to quiet matters. The Shah immediately began to see things in a proper light, and sent Futteh Ali Khan, Balooch, to Kaim Khan and Allah Yar Khan with a message that as Rajah Chet Sing had given him Mouzah Kunhyapoor, no musjid should be built within it without his permission. Kaim Khan replied that although the village had become the property of Shah Kootub, still he was determined to build the mosque according to the original intention, and swore he would not leave the place until it was finished. The Shah on receiving this message became very wrath and begged Jutimul to chastise the offenders, and a division took place in the Mahomedan party,—Allah Yar Khan with all the Mussulmans joining Shah Kootub, while Shah Muzuffur Ali and the gang of fakeers went over to Kaim Khan. At this time Mirza Kalab Ali Khan came from the Rajah to Shah Kootub, and the Shah's followers advised that as at nightfall most of the opposite party left the "Punjah Moobarak" and went to their homes to sleep, a few only remaining in

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the musjid, it would be then the right time to make an attack upon them, when they would either be killed or take to flight, and be unable to resist. Kootub Ali Khan approved, and that night, with a number of Hindoos and the Shah's followers, advanced towards the "Punjah Moobarak." Dhoond Khan, who was of the fakeers' party, heard of the Shah's intentions, and with some followers came out to meet and oppose him, and Kalab Ali Khan, becoming fearful returned, and next day sent Allah Yar Khan with 200 men to pull down the new musjid. Allah Yar Khan reached the spot and put a stop to the work. Shah Muzuffur Ali and Kaim Khan, with their fakeers, rushed from the "Punjah Moobarak" to prevent this interference; on their appearance Allah Yar Khan tried the effect of soft words, but Shah Muzhur Ali answered him by asking how it was that at first he had excited the Mussulmans to do that which he had now joined with the Hindoos to prevent, and further said that so long as life remained in their bodies they would carry on the work: and so it fell out that in eight days the new musjid was completed. Shah Kalab Ali Khan returned to the Rajah utterly discomfited and crestfallen, and making mountains out of mole-hills, incited by Shah Kootub, persuaded the Rajah to give orders to the neighbouring zemindars to assemble in force and destroy the new building. Accordingly the Foujdars of Jounpoor, Mureahoo, and Muchlishuhur were directed to tell the zemindars of the zillah to destroy the new musjid and slay all Mussulmans opposing them, using whatever means they thought proper. In accordance with these orders, the Hindoos in the city and the zemindars of Mureahoo, Budlapoor, Singramow, Zafurabad, Muchlishuhur, Chundwoh, Banur, and Kerakat, numerous as ants or locusts, and armed with sword and shield, spear and gun, assembled in the outskirts of the city at the "Tala Sahoo" tank, and at the close of the day advanced to the attack with drums beating. Muzhur Ali, Dhoond Khan, Kaim Khan, and others, in all twelve men, were sitting together when they heard of the approach of the Hindoos, and taking their lives in their hands hastened to oppose them. The Hindoos fired a volley which brought down Abbas Ali, a disciple of Muzhur Ali, but the remaining eleven, unhurt, charged the Hindoos and fought so bitterly that the zemindars retreated. Meanwhile, the Mussulmans had collected from every side, and they drove the Hindoos back to

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"Tala Sahoo" tank, where, however, they were reinforced by Oomrao Sing, zemindar of Mureahoo, with 5,000 men fully armed. After a short struggle the Hindoos were again forced to retire, and were unable to hold their ground until they reached Barsarah, where being joined by over a thousand men, they turned on the Mussulmans, now upwards of 2,000 in number. The fight was hot. Dhoond Khan, Jemadar, and several others were wounded, while the Hindoos had 40 killed and more than 200 wounded, and, notwithstanding their numbers, were obliged to retreat. The Mussulmans returned victorious, and cutting off the heads of two of the slain Hindoos, hung them over the shop door of Sewan, the builder of the temple. It now began to rain, and there being no shelter, each man went to his own home. Muzhur Ali, Dhoond Khan, and a few others, however, remained on the spot, and in the early morning were attacked by upwards of 4,000 men led by the zemindars who had been defeated the day before. The Mussulmans, being out numbered, retired, and the Hindoos seeing them in disorder and retreating, advanced a short distance and fired a volley of thousands of guns, by which, however, not a man was hurt. Still retiring, the Mussulmans reached the tomb of Baboo Khan, where they made a stand and attacked the Hindoos so fiercely that they fled, pursued by some heroic Mussulmans, whose numbers being increased by others joining in the pursuit, they rapidly swelled to a considerable force. Pursued and pursuers reached Barsarah at the same moment; the former continued their flight, and the latter set fire to the village and returned in triumph.

On that day Namdar Khan, Foujdar, Sheikh Nuzur Ali, of Muchlishuhur, and Nisar Ali, Kiladar, sent several messages to the Mussulmans, saying,—"You have pulled down the temple and built up the musjid, and defeated the kafirs; what more do you want? There is now no one able to resist you, so keep quiet and leave the care of the new musjid to us. We are also Mussulmans, so be satisfied and return to your homes."

The Mussulmans, deceived by these words, made over charge of the new musjid to two fakeers, and going to the Juma Musjid then separated and went each one to his home.

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In the night the Hindoos stormed the place and pulled down musjid and wall. Namdar Khan, fearing the Mussulmans' vengeance, fled to Benares, and Rajah Chet Singh in great vexation sent Lal Oodwunt, Rajah of Manda, to ravage Jounpoor, placing under him his whole army, commanded by Jafar Khan, Gholam Hussen Khan, Fyz-oollah Beg, Mungli Khan, Namdar Khan, and Miyan Hyder Ali, Risaldars, and telling him to put an end to these disturbances by any means he thought fit.

The force reached Jounpoor, and its leaders reported the true state of the case to Rajah Chet Singh, from whom orders came to expel Kaim Khan, Dhoond Khan, and other leaders of the rioters from the city; and they not being able to resist, and being deserted by their party, quitted the place and went with their families into the territories of the Nawab.

Narrative of events of the year 1191 *Hijree: Death of Mr. Monson and of General Clavering; Dismissal of officers appointed by them; Mr. Graham made "Suzawul" at Benares.*

THE arrival of the three Councillors, and their persistent opposition to him having thrown officers into great confusion, the Governor-General left Calcutta, and causing a report to be spread of his intention to go to England, made his first stage thither at Alipoor. While here Mr. Monson died, and General Clavering lost a supporter. It is said that the East India Company, on hearing of the Governor-General's intention to resign, proposed to appoint General Clavering to succeed him, and the General's friends at home wrote him word of this proposal. On receipt of the letter the General proceeded at once to assume the direction of affairs. The Governor-General, on hearing of this, came to the Council Chamber and demanded the General's authority for such assumption. The General produced the letters he had received from home; the Governor-General replied that in these letters it was distinctly stated that it was only in case of his leaving India that General Clavering was to succeed him, and that he had no such intention; the General, therefore, was quite unwarranted in his proceedings. The dispute waxed hot, and the question was at length submitted to the Judges of the Supreme Court, who decided it in the Governor-

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General's favour, and General Clavering, overcome with chagrin and mortification, retired to Bagh Gurhuttee in Chinsura, where from disappointment and vexation he fell sick.

It happened that just at this time the Governor-General's marriage with a European lady took place, and to it all the English in Calcutta were invited, the Governor-General going himself to General Clavering to bring him to the wedding. When there he became suddenly much worse, and medical assistance proving unavailing, he died the same day.

Mr. Wheeler, successor to Mr. Monson, now arrived in Calcutta, and although a friend of Mr. Francis, yet seeing the Governor-General's power, did not oppose him.

The Governor-General was now in a majority, and dismissed the officers appointed by General Clavering: in place of Mr. John Bristow, Mr. Middleton was re-appointed Agent at the Court of the Nawab, and in place of Mr. Fowke, Mr. Thomas Graham was appointed Suzawul at Benares.

On the first arrival of the three Councillors, the English in Calcutta and throughout Bengal split into two parties, one following General Clavering and his friends, and the other adhering to the Governor-General; and at this time Rajah Chet Sing's Vakeel, knowing what had previously occurred between his principal and the Governor-General, began to visit General Clavering secretly and presented him with a congratulating nuzzur. Just then the four Sircars came into the possession of the Company through Mr. Bristow's exertions, and this afforded an additional reason for the Vakeel to pay court to General Clavering; he therefore now openly waited upon the General, and carried on the business of the Rajah through him alone. The Governor-General concealed his resentment of this conduct, and referred all matters relating to Chet Sing to the General. Now however, having overcome his opponents and replaced the officers appointed by them with his own friends, he retaliated upon those who had intrigued with General Clavering, amongst whom he counted Chet Sing.

The Vakeel was turned out of Calcutta, and Mr. Graham was ordered to eject from Benares Bhaeeram Mahajun, Chet Sing's

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adviser, and, further, was directed to lose no opportunity of injuring the Rajah. Still further to lower the Rajah's pride, Ousan Sing, who was lying in distress in Moorshedabad, and whose relations were in confinement and suffering a thousand indignities at Ramnuggur, was sent a gift of a "doshala" and a letter saying that his innocence was well known to the Governor-General, and that he was to return without fear to Benares and await further orders. To Rajah Chet Sing orders were sent that Ousan Sing being a a friend of the Company's, his relatives must be at once released from confinement, and a jagheer amply sufficient for their wants given them. Mr. Graham swimming with the tide and taking his cue from the temper of the Governor-General treated Chet Sing with great harshness and annoyed him by every means in his power. Contradictory orders were sent every day, until the Rajah, through fear and perplexity, did not know whether he was on his head or his heels. At the same time, feeling ashamed for his former conduct, he now showed nothing but obedience and submission. Bhaeeram and all his people were at once dismissed and turned out of the Rajah's territories; Ousan Sing's relations were set free, and everything done to give satisfaction to Mr. Graham. Any one having the slightest acquaintance with the English officers had only to go to the Rajah with some plausible story or other to obtain thousands of rupees from him. About this time Rajah Imrit Sing, Dewan of Nawab Muzuffur Jung, and who had been turned out of Moorshedabad by the Governor-General, arrived at Benares, and by reason of former fitness was made by Mr. Graham his chief minister. Rajah Imrit Sing had heard of the great wealth and overflowing treasure of Chet Sing, and now he saw it with his own eyes, and the sight sharpened the tooth of covetousness to possess it. He began to inspire the Rajah with fear and alarm in every matter, sometimes sending word that an English fort was to be built at Ramnuggur, sometimes that orders had arrived from the Governor-General for plans to be taken of Latifpoor and Bijyegurh. As the Rajah's family only was at Ramnuggur, while all his treasure was deposited in these two forts, this last report greatly disturbed him, and he paid enormous sums to have the order withdrawn. Rajah Imrit Sing and his emissaries who spread some new report daily obtained thousands of rupees, and although Chet

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Sing's Vakeels remained in attendance on the orders of Mr. Graham, no consideration was shown them, firstly, because he favoured Rajah Imrit Sing, and secondly, because of the disposition of the Governor-General towards Chet Sing.

At length, by some unknown channel, the news of Rajah Imrit Sing's misdeeds reached the Governor-General, who sent instant orders for his expulsion from Benares, which were reluctantly obeyed by Mr. Graham. Imrit Sing went to Allahabad, where he remained for a length of time, and then for some unknown reasons went to Calcutta.

EPISODE.

The author arrives in Benares and has a controversy with Brahmins.

In the beginning of this year (1191 Hijree), with the desire of seeing many cities and the manners of men, I came to Benares, and although from poverty I was unable to travel as my equals in rank would do, was too proud to ask my friends for assistance. On the day of my arrival, as I was considering where I should put up, I noticed a crowd of travellers at a gateway, and enquiring who they were, they told me that they were attending Doorga Churn, a rich Bengalee, formerly Dewan to Mr. Marriot, who had come to Benares to bathe in the Ganges; they further said that Doorga Churn held no communication whatever with Mussulmans, and avoided even the shadow of a Mahomedan.

I thought to myself I am travelling to see strange things, and the religion of this Bengalee is certainly among them. On entering the building, I beheld more than a hundred Hindoos sitting around him, not one of whom was paying the slightest attention. At this moment it seemed as if I had been inspired with a dislike to him, while he was at the same seized with a strong liking to me. On my approaching him he rose from his seat to salute me, and his companions in great astonishment also rose. Stretching out his hand he wished to grasp mine. I said "Pardon me, but defile not my hand." He asked, "How so?" I replied, "As by your religion Mussulmans are unclean, and you avoid their shadow even, and bathe after the least touch, so according to my religion you are utterly unclean, and unless by washing and changing my clothes it would be difficult

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to get rid of the impurity caused by shaking hands with you." He laughed heartily at this, and seizing my hand drew me towards him and seated me at his side. He then asked where I lived and who were my parents, and on what business I had come to Benares. I replied that God had given me a thirst for knowledge, and I began to study when seventeen years old, and having spent four or five years in studying, I had now come out to see the world. As he was an elderly man, and taking me to be very young, I saw he did not believe me, and then by way of experiment he observed to the Brahmins who were sitting with him, "The Mussulmans assert that this world is only 8,000 years old, and that all mankind are descended from that Adam, who was created in these latter ages; this assertion is not reasonable or credible, and it is not my belief that the canopy of the heavens is only 8,000 years old ; in point of fact, there are in my country buildings now existing 15,000 years old, and in the books written by the guides of our religion there are the accounts of hundreds of thousands of years." The Brahmins with one voice confirmed these statements. I did not much care what I said, so replied, "What do you know of the Mahomedan religion? Unless with Mussulmans, a Mussulman does not disclose anything about his religion. It is by no means my belief that the creation of heaven and earth took place 8,000 years ago ; on the contrary, I firmly believe they have existed for many thousands of years, and that they were the work of one maker, who by his mere will, and without any help, created them ; that before the creation of Adam, our ancestor, thousands and thousands of men lived and died; that this Adam, our ancestor, came from heaven with a declared purpose and lived on this earth ; that from the time of the coming of the voice from heaven and of Adam's dwelling upon earth we reckon the creation of man. The stories of a previous time are of no profit, and I do not heed them. Thus the days of Adam's life were one thousand years ; from his death to the deluge 2,242 years; from the deluge to the death of Noah 3,050 years; from the death of Noah to the death of Abraham 2,246 years; from the death of Abraham to the time of Moses 700 years ; from the death of Moses to the coming of Jesus 1,550 years, and from his ascension to the birth of the Prophet 320 years ; thus from the creation of Adam to the birth of the Holy Prophet is 11,108 years, and

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from that time to the present more than 1,200 years have passed. From whom then, or where, did you hear that only 8,000 years have elapsed since the creation of man? If you refer me to your books and histories, how can I believe them? for I have read them, and have been told of them by trustworthy people, and to this day remark what I have read and heard. Your sages believe that after the heavens and the elements the Almighty created Brahma, and through him the world; and about that which you call heaven (*asman*) your learned men disagree, the more ancient of them asserting that the Almighty first created five elements: first, space (*akas*); second, fire (*ag*); third, water (*pani*); fourth, air (*huwa*); fifth, earth (*khak*); and this is space (*akas*), which is called the heavens (*asman*). Space (*akas*) represents the male, and the remaining four elements (*ausur*) the female, and from the conjunction of these sprung Brahma. While the more modern investigators say that space (*akas*) does not exist; whatever does exist is comprehended in the other four elements (*ausur*); that whatever of the heavens (*asman*) is visible is really air (*huwa*); that the stars are the spirits of holy men of old, who by their austerities and devotion have been indued with forms of light and splendour, and by the motion of the upper world keep their circling flight; those of them who reached the highest stage of holiness are the larger stars, and never approach this lower earth; while a few, according to their degree, flying in the heavens (*asman*), return to earth. That Brahma, who is the maker of endless worlds, has fixed the circuit of time in four cycles: the first (Sutjoog) continuing for 1,728,000 years; the second (Tretajoog) continuing for 1,296,000 years; the third (Dwaperjoog) continuing for 800,304 years; and the fourth (Kuljoog) continuing for 432,000 years. These four cycles or periods constitute a "*chowghuri*," and one thousand chowghuris make a day of Brahma, and as many a night, on the completion of which Brahma goes to sleep, and a general destruction of the world, called "Purlai," takes place. Brahma continues to sleep for a period as long as he had been awake, and then arousing himself begins a new creation. After 360 of these days and nights one year of Brahma's life is completed, and he lives for 100 years, at the end of which he dies and a perfect void remains: this is called "Muhaparlai." The Almighty then, of his own perfect

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power, creates another Brahma and other worlds, and the same successive revolutions take place as before.

"According to your belief one thousand Brahmas have been created and died, and the present is the one thousand and first, and of his life fifty years and half a day have elapsed. Your sages also say that when 300 years of the cycle 'Dwapur' remain unexpired, then Brahma, from a ball of earth, creates a personage called Dulja, a male, and endows him with beauty and strength, with knowledge of God, and upright form. From his left thigh is produced a woman, and their children are many. In the Kuljoog their posterity increase and people the earth, and the former generation decrease; they bring all things into subjection to them, and overcome all their enemies. The most excellent of their posterity will be worthy of honour, and be born in the Kuljoog, and arrive at perfection. This Dulja is the Adam, our common ancestor, and the most excellent of his descendants is the Holy Prophet.

"Darooshukoh, who was acquainted with all your books, writes in the translation of one of them, that when the Almighty willed the creation, he caused a fire to exist, from which came light and darknes. From the light he made the 'Dewtas,' whom the Mussulmans called angels, and from the darkness he made the 'Rakshas' or 'Deo,' of which race is Rawan, king of Lunka; while Ram Luchmun and their descendants sprung from fire are called by the Mussulmans 'Jins,' and ruled the world from the Sutjoog to the Treta and Dwapur periods. The angels, sprung from light, and obedient to God, remain for ever in the heavens; while the Deos or Rakshus, sprung from darkness, rebellious and unbelieving, are condemned to live for ever in caves and in the hells. The Jins being sprung from fire, in which are both light and darkness, remain, some obedient to and enjoying the light of God, and others, a few, are in sin and darkness, and even now exist in this world. From the race of Jins came a personage called Martoos, governor of the inhabited world, and for 36,000 years his posterity ruled the heavens and stars, until towards the end of this period, becoming rebellious and unbelieving, they fell under the anger of the Almighty, and were overcome by a personage Chulpas. He remained faithful for a time, but at length, after a second period, revolted, and with his descendants

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passed away. In the third period appeared Naboos, king of the world, whose people after a time rebelled against God, and against whom the army of the angels was sent. His people were for the greater part killed ; a few escaped to the uttermost parts of the earth, and his children were taken prisoners to heaven by the angels. Of these, one called Iblis, to whom was given the name Azazeel, was placed among the angels. When those who had escaped again raised their heads in rebellion, Iblis, with all the Deotas, was sent to oppose them ; he overcame and slew them, and reigned in his father's place. Sometimes he remained in heaven and sometimes on earth, and became proud of his wisdom and greatness. Towards the end of the third period the Almighty created Adam from the dust of the earth, and ordered Iblis to bow down before him. Iblis, through pride, refused, and was cursed. Adam dwelt in heaven until Iblis, by deceit, misled his wife, and for her fault he was expelled from heaven. In the days when Adam, cast out from heaven, came to Mount Sarundweep, the Kurus and Pandus ruled the world and waged a deadly war between themselves. Hundreds of thousands of men were slain, and this was that which you call Muhabharat. Of all the combatants but two remained alive, one of whom, Indisthir, king of the Pandus, was victorious. As it was the will of God that the sons of Adam should rule the world, Indisthir died in a short time, and was succeeded by his son Parikchit, against whom the children of Adam, now innumerable, waged war and overcame, and in lapse of time not a trace of him remained. The Mussulmans say that in the deluge the whole world was drowned except Noah, his three sons Ham, Sam, and Yafut, and their wives—in all seven persons. After their escape from the deluge Noah divided the world amongst his descendants. The western portions were given to Ham, who had nine sons: Hind, Sind, Zabih, Kinan, Looch, Keet, Barbar, Hubsh, Kous, each of whom founded a city in his own name. In the east, in the centre of India, Hind succeeded his father as king ; after him Maharajbin Kishoon ; after him Keshorajbin Maharaj ; after him Ferozrai ; after him Soorajrai. From the time of Noah to the time of Soorajrai is 2,000 years. As in this time there was no guidance or authority, Iblis, taking the form of a Brahmin, appeared to man, and falsifying the descent of man from Ham, the son of Noah, gave out

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his ancestors to be Mahadeo Ram and Luchmun, and making images of them in wood and stone caused them to be worshipped as deities; but as the history of the time of Ham could not be shaken, he upheld and taught it. So, according to your own sages, all the men now existing are the descendants of Adam, and not of any race of Jins of the Kuljoog period. Our Prophet in his day declared the truth, and your own sages pronounce such stories to be fables and unfounded, and your learned men consider such idolatry as abominable; yet for the instruction of children and the ignorant they allow them to place before them the images of their guides and teachers, to excite them to devotion when worshipping God."

When the discussion had reached this stage, some of the Brahmins denied that their books contained any such statements, or that their philosophers believed as I had asserted; others, older and better acquainted with their sacred writings, however, corroborated my statements, and said that, with slight verbal discrepancies, all that I had uttered was in their books, which they produced, and there and then referred to. Doorgachurn, with the utmost courtesy, kissed both my hands, saying," You are a Pundit of my religion," and immediately hired a spacious house in the silk bazar for me, paying Rs. 60, four months' rent in advance to the owner, and ordered his servants to furnish it handsomely. He then brought forth Rs. 500, a "doshala," and some white clothes, and laid them before me. After many refusals I at last took a turban, and he then conducted me to the house. On observing the preparation made I was much annoyed, but Doorgachurn said "It is a wonderful circumstance. You desire freedom from contamination with the world, but God has otherwise decreed, so it is useless to strive against His will;" he then bade me be seated and appointed some of his servants to attend upon me.

On that, on the next day Doorgachurn went to Chunar to Colonel Dow, the principal officer there, and made mention of me to him, and on the third day returned, bringing a palkee and bearers and a chobdar to take me to Chunar. I remonstrated, and said I wished to travel and not to remain in any one place, and that Colonel Dow could have no business with me; but Doorgachurn insisted I should go, and at last I went. On reaching Chunar I found

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Colonel Dow polite beyond measure, and of very pleasant conversation. He came out to meet me on my arrival, and gave me a most kind reception.

He said he had sent for me because he wished to hear from me of the discussion I had held with the Brahmins at Benares, and to translate it into his own tongue; and he also said he had heard the praises of my learning, and that he himself was fond of reading the poems of the learned men of Rúm, and intended translating them; but although he had consulted many learned men regarding the meaning of some of the verses, he was not satisfied with their explanation. I replied that I should be glad to answer any questions of the sort he might propose, and related all that had occurred at Doorgachurn's between the Brahmins and myself, at which he was greatly pleased. He then sent for a book of poems, and asked me the meaning of the following verses:—

من ز قرآن مغز را برداشتم
اُستخوان پیش سگان انداختم

saying that the Rúmi Moulvies explain it—"I have extracted the essence of the Koran and thrown the remainder to the dogs"—a disrespect to the Koran which he did not think any Mussulman would be guilty of or even utter.

I replied that I had never considered the meaning of the verses in question, nor had I ever been asked about them, but as he had enquired, I would give him what I thought to be the proper explanation.

I said "Mughz" signified the belief in the unity of God set forth in the Koran. "Ustakhwan" to mean those so-called philosophical books which turned and twisted the simple word into a hundred meanings. "Sagan" to be worldly-minded men and time-servers, who engaged in all sorts of controversies and contentions, forsaking the paths of godliness, and following these books instead of the Koran.

When I had finished my explanation, the Colonel rose, and taking my hand shook it cordially, saying that up to this time no one had given such an explanation, and he felt certain it was the correct one.

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He then gave me a house to live in near his bungalow, and towards evening his Dewan, a Bengalee, came and said it was the Colonel's order that so long as I remained I was to receive Rs. 5 a day for my servants, besides meat, ghee, flour, rice, &c., and six bearers and a palkee for my conveyance. I remained nearly a month, and during his leisure time the Colonel used to send for me, and in the most polite manner ask the meaning of different verses of the poets.

One day, when sitting in his court, a Mussulman in irons was brought in, to whom the Colonel ordered one hundred and fifty stripes to be given and then to be released. I enquired what offence he had committed to deserve this punishment. The Colonel replied that in his predecessor's time the prisoner had obtained a decree in some case in which he had established his right, that the decree had been lost by him, and he had come to his Dewan, offering Rs. 250 to him if he would affix the late Colonel's signature to a decree like that which he had lost. The Dewan told him of the affair, which is a grave offence in his country, where the signature is relied upon, and not the seal on a document.

I answered, "If the person who merely wishes to commit forgery is considered deserving of such a severe punishment, the actual forger surely should suffer doubly." The Colonel replied, "True." I then said: "To what punishment has Dewan Jee been sentenced, as the loss of the decree is acknowledged by him? The prisoner is an ignorant man, quite unacquainted with the rules and customs of the English, while the Dewan is an intelligent man, who has been for a length of time in association with Englishmen, and knows their laws and habits; why, then, did he consent to the prisoner's proposals? The probability is that, when the prisoner lost his decree, he felt alarmed lest his opponent, hearing of the loss, might get some Bengalee to forge the signature of the late Colonel to a decree in his own favour; and the prisoner searching for a person likely to do such an act, most probably asked the Dewan, and on finding him willing to commit the forgery, said, 'So you can make signatures in English, how do I know that you won't forge a decree on my opponent's name?' The Dewan then becoming alarmed that the prisoner would reveal the affair disclosed it himself, and threw the

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consequences on the prisoner." The Mussulman cried out from the corner of the bungalow that what I had said was the real state of the case; and the Bengalee Dewan became yellow with fear. The Colonel, having made further enquiries, ordered the irons to be taken off and the prisoner released, and warned the Dewan against such practices for the future. He also gave the prisoner a decree signed and sealed to the same effect as that which had been lost.

This same Dewan, about this time, had issued orders in Colonel Dow's name to the inhabitants of the town, that all those who had title-deeds to any houses or lands should produce them in Court; that those who held legal documents should obtain the Colonel's signature, and those who held public deeds should have others prepared by the Kazee and Mooftee of the same nature and obtain the Colonel's signature to them; fees at the rate of five per cent. for payment of the Government officials, and two per cent. for the Kazee and Mooftee, being levied, and the townspeople being greatly harrassed to enforce production of their papers. Complaints of the oppression and extortion practised by the Government officials, who, in place of the seven per cent. allowed them, took hundreds of rupees, now became loud and frequent among the inhabitants; but no one would go and inform the Colonel of the injustice that was being carried on, until some of them came to me and laid their grievances before me. On that very day when I waited on the Colonel I asked the reason of this investigation. He replied, that he had heard that many persons, by violence or fraud had become possessed of property to which they had no right, and for which they could produce no title-deeds, and that, with a view of ascertaining each one's rights and of establishing him in them, he had ordered this examination of documents. I replied, that it was a strange circumstance that, while he was only anxious to do justice and relieve the poor from oppression, they suffered injustice and oppression without bounds; that the officials had fixed such a rate of fees that rich men only were able to pay them, and by this means had obtained the title-deeds of poor men who could not afford them, and that they considered it hopeless to attempt to establish their rights. The Colonel became very angry on hearing this, and sending for all his subordinates reproved them

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sternly for their acts. He also issued a proclamation that all those who had given his subordinates any money were to appear before him, and it would be returned to them, and that no one was to pay more than one per cent. fees to the Kazee, Mooftee, or Clerks.

At length, after about a month's stay in every comfort, Rahmut Ali Khan, the Kazee, became so jealous of my influence with the Colonel, that one day he told him that I desired to go to Calcutta, but was ashamed to say so myself; and on my waiting on the Colonel at the usual time, he told me what the Kazee had said, at the same time assuring me of his liking and regard for me. Thinking it would be a disgrace to the Kazee if I denied what he had said, I replied that I did wish to continue my travels, and had come to say so. The Colonel immediately sat down and wrote letters of introduction for me to his friends in Patna and Calcutta, and having given them to me went away. A moment afterwards a servant brought me a note from him to Gopaldass, banker, to pay me Rs. 500 for defraying my expenses.

Ali-ood-deen Kabeera and Moulvie Zein-ool-abdeen taken into favour by Mr. T. Graham.

ALI-OOD-DEEN KABEERA was a resident of Shahjehanpoor, and followed the occupation of a teacher. He was engaged as tutor to the son of a Kayath in Bareilly; and the boy being handsome and intelligent, Ali-ood-deen became very fond of him. His father, however, did not approve of this, and wished to get rid of Ali-ood-deen, on which he absconded with the boy and took up his residence in Fyzabad, where he was made a Mussulman, and the name of Zein-ool-abdeen was given him. The lad was very intelligent, and acquired knowledge not only from Ali-ood-deen but from every one he met, and soon rose from being a pupil to be a teacher. After some time Zein-ool-abdeen left Ali-ood-deen and came to Benares, where Hakeem Mubarat Khan employed him as tutor to his son. While so engaged a disgraceful affair between the boy and Zein-ool-abdeen came to light, and Hakeem Mubarat Khan was intensely annoyed; but, to prevent further infamy, hushed the matter up. In 1190 Hijree Raja Hindooput of Bundelkhund fell sick, and asked

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Rajah Chet Sing to send him a doctor. Mubarat Khan was selected to go to Bundelkhund, and taking his son, but leaving Zein-ool-abdeen behind him, he started. He had reached the first stage of his journey, when Zein-ool-abdeen, shouting and yelling and behaving like a madman, overtook him, and Mubarat Khan had no other resource than to take him on with him to Bundelkhund, where he duly arrived, and began the cure of the Rajah.

Suddenly Ali-ood-deen appeared there and warned the Rajah's freinds that Chet Sing had sent this doctor to kill their Rajah, and that it was dangerous to take physic from the doctor of an enemy.

The Rajah's friends, in a fright, at once dismissed Mubarat Khan, and Ali-ood-deen began to attend the Raja. One day, after administering several medicines with no result, he fell under the same suspicions as Mubarat Khan had done, and the Rajah giving him some money sent him about his business. Ali-ood-deen then came to Benares, and in partnership with Zein-ool-abdeen took a small house in the silk market (Kuttra Reshum), and set up as physician and fortune-teller.

When I was stopping in the Kuttra Reshum they both came to call upon me, and talked and blew their own trumpets tremendously. Ali-ood-deen, declaring his acquaintance with every science and art, said he knew perfectly the soothsayer's art, and had ascertained from his own horoscope that he would rise in the world, and that I was to be the means of his elevation. I did not believe him, and thought it a piece of boasting, but a month had not passed when Rajah Imrit Sing falling sick, Lalla Kashmiri Mull, Mahajun, recommended Ali-ood-deen to him as a skilful doctor, and he was sent for by the Rajah, to whom he made himself so agreeable that he became his confidential companion and friend.

About this time a dispute between the principal inhabitants of Jounpoor occurred, in which Mr. Graham took the side of the plaintiffs, and Rajah Imrit Sing that of the defendants, and for many days the community was agitated by the discussions between the parties. At length Mr. Graham said, that as the question was one between Mussulmans, they should settle it according to their own law, as it might be shown from their books. Rajah Imrit Singh and

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the learned men of Jounpoor, who believed the right was with the defendants, agreed to Mr. Graham's proposal and invited all the most learned doctors and lawyers in Benares to attend, while Rajah Imrit Sing sent all the chief officers of the army, the chief citizens and learned men of Jounpoor who were in Benares on account of this case, to the assembly.

On the same day, Mr. Graham, at a private meeting of his side, said he greatly desired that some one could be found to give an authoritative decision founded on books of Mahomedan law favourable to the views he held.

Moonshee Imam Buksh here made mention of me and was sent to fetch me; but on learning the facts of the case, I did not think fit to attend on Mr. Graham, or to make such a statement as he wished. I said to the Moonshee, however, that if he wished to question Moulvies on the subject of their law, my two friends downstairs knew much more than I did, and would, I had no doubt, give just such an opinion as Mr. Graham wanted. Next day Rajah Imrit Singh heard from Moonshee Imam Buksh what I had said, and at once sent a conveyance for Moulvie Ali-ood-deen, and introduced him at once to Mr. Graham and the assembly of those learned in the law. The Moulvie came forward and at first argued on both sides of the question, until he had discovered to which Mr. Graham was inclined, then he changed his ground, and with many illustrations he argued entirely on that side, to the great delight of Mr. Graham, who decided that the case should be settled according to the Moulvie's opinion. That night Gholam Husen Khan, Fyz-oollah Khan, Mirza Kalab Ali Khan, Bakshi Sudanund, and other chief officers of the Rajah, together with Moulvie Abulkhair, the most learned man of the day, came to Ali-ood-deen's house, and asked him for his authority for the opinion he had given favourable to Mr. Graham, and Moulvie Abulkhair produced ten or twelve authorities of great weight entirely contrary to it, and laid them before him. Ali-ood-deen, seeing his questioners were getting him into a corner, became insolent, told them he cared nothing for their authorities, that he was more experienced and knew more than they all put together, that what he had said was the law and nothing but the law, and

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that he had no need to refer to books. On hearing this tirade, they went away displeased and dejected. Ali-ood-deen at the same time called out to me from his room: "Do you still disbelieve my soothsaying? Has not what I foretold exactly happened?"

From that time Ali-ood-deen became firmly established in Mr. Graham's favour, and was employed by him as go-between in all business with Rajah Chet Singh.

The Rajah was in mortal dread of him, and allowed him Rs. 500 a month for himself, Rs. 300 a month to Zein-ool-abdeen, and one hundred matchlockmen as guards; but not satisfied with this, they extorted by various means thousands of rupees from him: as, for instance, one night at the settlement of the jaghir ordered to be given to Ousan Sing, Ali-ood-deen took Rs. 45,000 from the Rajah.

One day, whilst sitting with the Rajah, a messenger brought word that the Moulvie's boat was crossing over; on which the Rajah's colour fled, and he became so confused as to forget what he was talking about. I enquired what was the matter. He replied, that whenever the person whose coming had just been announced approached him, he lost all command over himself and could neither say what he desired or keep silence, and that he came on such errands and brought such messages as to utterly perplex and confound him. At this moment the Moulvie entered, and the Rajah, rising, saluted him and seated him at his side. After some conversation the Moulvie said that Mr. Graham was sick, and his doctor had prescribed for him the oil of red-ants, and that the Rajah was to order his people to collect within four or five days about seven pounds weight of red-ants' heads and send them, or else he would greatly displease Mr. Graham. The Rajah on hearing this order, became black in the face, and said, "Why was not the oil of Phœnix prescribed? It would be difficult to collect half a pound weight of red-ants at any time, much more so to get seven pounds weight of their heads, and being a Brahmin I cannot give orders to destroy the life of millions of animals." The Moulvie, withdrawing a little from the Rajah said, "I now see this manifestation of your wickedness. Have I not told you a thousand times that whatever orders I bring must be

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obeyed, and that you will find no resource but to obey them?" The Rajah looked at me and made signs with his eyes, on which I said: "Moulvie Sahib, you have complete influence over Mr. Graham, and I am sure you could manage that some other remedy be prescribed for him." The Moulvie replied that he did possess great influence with Mr. Graham; and at length the Rajah whispered something in Sudanund Bakhshi's ear, and he beckoned the Moulvie to another room, from whence he came out and went away highly pleased. I heard afterwards from the Moulvie, that the Rajah had given him Rs. 3,500 on this occasion—to get exemption from the order. I told the Moulvie that, although he was older and more experienced than I, no good would come of taking money in this way; at which he got angry, and asked me if I did not know that the way of the world and the way of heaven were different. Not very long after it fell out with him as I had expected, as I shall presently relate.

Narrative of the events of the year 1192 *Hijree. Rajah Chet Sing assigns a jaghir to Ousan Sing, and is compelled by Mr. Graham to pay five lacs for two regiments of sepoys.*

DURING this year the harshness of Mr. Graham's conduct towards Rajah Chet Sing passed all bounds. If even one day beyond the date for payment of revenue elapsed, officers were set over him who prevented the most necessary acts until the money was paid. He was also bullied into assigning a jaghir of Rs. 54,000 a year in Pergunnah Syudpoor to Baboo Ousan Sing. About this time, accounts of the great wealth and extravagant expenditure of Chet Sing reached the Governor-General's ears; whereupon orders were sent to him to pay five lacs a year, the cost of two regiments of sepoys, which were to be raised for the protection of Zillah Benares, to replace those sent from there to the Deccan; such payment to continue until affairs were settled in the Deccan, and to be in addition to the revenue already paid. The subordinates of the English officials found new pretexts in these orders for further extortions, and chief amongst them Moulvie Ali-ood-deen, giving an extra twist to his mustachios, entered on the business with fresh zest. The Rajah, seeing himself unable to pay this new demand, hesitated

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to agree to it, when unexpectedly two regiments, marching from Dinapoor to Cawnpoor, arrived near Ramnuggur. Mr. Graham, after consultation with Ali-ood-deen, induced the commanding officers of the troops to halt at Ramnuggur and coerce the Rajah. The officers, accordingly, demanded from him the five lacs for the maintenance of two regiments; and their sepoys, seeing the state of affairs, began to plunder the bazaars of Ramnuggur. The officers also, seeing that the Rajah was overcome with alarm, stationed two companies at his gates, to prevent all communication with his officials. At this he grew desperate, and sending his family with whatever property they could carry away to Bijyegurh, he, notwithstanding his want of courage, prepared to fight. Ramjeawun and Balkishoon Hazaee, with sowars and footmen, placed guns in position, and a conflict was imminent. The officers, who had no intention of fighting, were perplexed at the position, and sent word to Mr. Graham, who also became a sharer in their perplexity, and blamed Ali-ood-deen for leading him into such a dilemma. Ali-ood-deen was however equal to the occasion. About this very time rumours of the coming of Sir Eyre Coote were prevalent; and the Moulvie going to the Rajah magnified these into a positive statement that Sir Eyre Coote was marching up-country solely for the purpose of chastising him; and, having driven him out of his senses with fear, got him to pay Rs. 15,000 by way of fine for the detention of the troops to their officers.

At the end of this year (1192 Hijree), being very desirous of visiting the eastern provinces, I went to Patna, which I found to be a populous and pleasant city, and from the inhabitants of which I received great kindness and attention.

The chief citizens came in crowds to visit me, and the Nazim of these parts, Rajah Kullian Sing, a young man of good disposition, and anxious for information upon all subjects, expressed a wish to see me. To please Hadi Ali Khan and Moulvie Fyz Ali, friends of mine and dependants of the Rajah, I waited upon him. On our meeting he saluted me after the Mussulmans' fashion, saying "*Salam Alikoom!*" I glanced at Hadi Ali Khan, and replied "*Alikoom-oos-salam,*" addressing him as "Rajah Sahib." At this he was annoyed, and said he did not deserve such a return to his salutation

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as "*Alikoom-oos-salam.*" I replied that Mahomedans were forbidden by their religion to salute any but Mussulmans in any other way. He asked whether he was not a Musulman. I replied, "This is how you are not a Mussulman: your name is Rajah Kullian Sing; your father was Rajah Shitab Rai; your mother is called "Kooar," and your wife Rani. What doubt, therefore, can there be as to your not being a Musulman?" He then said he desired to ask me some questions about the "Imamat." I answered, "What do you know about the 'Imamat?' You must first ask about the unity of God and the prophecies of the prophets; and when you have satisfied yourself of their truth and firmly believe in them, then I will answer your questions about the 'Imamat.' "He replied," "I believe you think me an infidel;" and turning to some of his servants desired them to bring the book he had composed. From it he read some passages relating to the unity of God and the mission of the Prophet, than which I had never heard better, and I told him that, if in truth he had written the book, God would certainly do to him as he had written, and his salvation would be effected.

He answered, "I see you still think me an unbeliever"; and in an angry manner asked me in what branch of learning was I perfect, that he might question me therein. Seeing there was little use in prolonging the discussion, I said I was fully acquainted only with that which I could not communicate. He asked, "What is it?—history, or the interpretation of the Koran, or philosophy, or what?" I answered, "There are many more learned men than I am in this city, and even in this company, but the subject of which I claim full knowledge is one of which, perhaps, no other person would do so." He then asked me about every science and art and branch of learning, to which I only replied that so and so knows more about it than I do. At last, seeing his attempts useless, he begged earnestly that I would tell him what knowledge it was that I and no other person claimed to possess. I said, being wearied with his importunity, "I claim to possess only complete knowledge of my own imperfection and ignorance in every branch of science or art; others, indeed, may claim perfect knowledge in one or other science or art, I only know myself to be ignorant."

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Tears filled his eyes as he answered, "True ; this is the only real knowledge of which no one until now has spoken to me."

The following day Rambuksh, Kotwal, seized the fleet of boats of the governor-general, thousands in number—budgerows, pinnaces, and the state barge of the governor-general—together with their cargoes, with lacs of rupees, all of which were plundered. First the servants of the English and Hindoostanee women who were on board the boats were stripped of everything they possessed, even to the clothes upon their backs, and then let go and sent from under the old fort of Benares towards Ramnuggur.

Baboo Soojan Sing took an active part in the plundering, and the scum of the city and camp was let loose, robbing and destroying whatever it thought proper. He gave orders to sink the budgerows and pinnaces and fire the other boats. Hundreds of burning boats were then seen tossing on the waves of the river and sinking; the Benares mullahs saved some boats by swimming out to them and towing them ashore, but the greater number were altogether lost.

By the will of Heaven, my boat and property, as well as Mr. David Anderson's, were plundered, and many valuable papers and much property stolen or lost. The servants of the English, and their boatmen, took refuge in Benares, and a great outcry was raised against them. No one could be found to help them ; if any person either gave one of them some old clothes, or a piece of bread to a hungry child, he was at once imprisoned and his household plundered. Wherever they went they were abused and pelted with stones, and at last, in despair, they took the road to Patna. The villagers treated them well and compassionated their sufferings, but they suffered much from the cruelty of the zemindars.

In these days, all those who had the least connection with the English underwent great hardships, except myself, whom God preserved. I had ten or twelve steady supporters, my kinsmen and their friends, who were ready to give their lives for me; and after I had brought my family from Ramnuggur to Benares I engaged fifteen Mewalee matchlockmen, who remained in guard at my door

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day and night. When Rambuksh passed this way in his plundering expeditions, seeing I was prepared to resist, he did not attempt to molest me, so much so that I gave refuge to Mr. Anderson's servants, who had been robbed of all they possessed. The Rajah's people hearing of this wrote of it to Soojan Sing, who first ordered 50 sowars and 200 footmen to go and arrest me, but on consideration withdrew the order, and asked for the Rajah's orders. The Rajah wrote: "This is that man by whose means you and my life and honour were preserved when General Sir Eyre Coote came to Buxar. It is a pity you have forgotten his conduct, and that he was never an ill-wisher of mine or yours, and in the time of our necessity accepted no bribe from us. As, therefore, he has behaved to us, so do you behave to him; see that no injury be done him, else it will be a disgrace to us."

On the 9th Ramzan, after nightfall, a man knocked at my door and told my father sowars were coming to arrest me. My father, greatly alarmed, informed my brothers. I came down and asked what was the matter; the man said that sowars were coming to search for me, and before they could arrive I ought to get out of the way. I said I was prepared for death, which must come some day or other, and to-day was as fit as any other for this. You can do as you think best for yourselves. My brothers with one voice swore to stand by me. My younger brother, Noor Ali Khan, said: "We are all partners in this affair, but what is to be done with our wives? It is all very well for us to fight and die, but afterwards what will become of them? It is my advice that before the enemy can arrive we should take our wives to the Kazee's house, and then we shall fight unencumbered." This was agreed upon, and my father took the women to the Kazee. Towards daybreak we heard of the intention of Soojan Sing, and of the Rajah's prohibition, and were somewhat comforted.

During the day I was at the Kazee's house at the river-side, performing my ablutions, when thirty or forty "piadahs" of Dayaram came into the house and surrounded me. Their leader said to me that it had become known that I had English property in my house which the Ameen must have, and in case of my refusal to surrender it I must go to him. My brothers meanwhile had rushed round

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me like a shield, and had nearly come to blows with the piadahs. By good luck a chobdar of the Rajah's, who was bathing at the river-side, saluted me. I recognized him and called him to me. He was under obligations to me, and came running with his mace in his hand, with which he commenced beating the piadahs without mercy, saying? "You all think yourselves the elder brothers of the Rajah and patrons of Soojan Sing. What is that scoundrel Dayaram thinking about to behave so to a gentleman for whose services I am specially appointed." The piadahs' faces lengthened when they heard this, and they began to excuse themselves by saying that a "kahar" of mine had given the information to the Ameen who otherwise would never have acted in this manner. Thus it was that the acquaintanceship of a chobdar proved of so much value.

I now heard that Gholam Husen Khan and Sudanund Bukshee had come across to Benares for the settlement of various matters, and were stopping at the house of the Ameen. My friends thought it would be well for me to wait upon Gholam Husen Khan and ascertain his wishes, and although it was a dangerous venture, yet, relying upon the mercy of God, I went and found him and the Bukshee in a separate apartment from the Ameen. Although Gholam Husen Khan was a friend, yet on this occasion he did not even rise to salute me, nor paid any attention to my coming, being engaged in conversation with some other person. When I saw he took no notice of me, I clapped him on the back and said, "What! Gholam Husen Khan, you don't know me? You must have conquered all the English and taken possession of their country, or else your memory is foggy: how is it that the English are only fourteen miles off? You will have heard of the fate of Suraj-ood-dowlah and Meer Kasim Khan, and if such powerful princes could not succeed in overcoming the English, what chance has a poor creature like Chet Sing, who is alread yon the brink of destruction? Why are you ruining yourself? Now, when injury towards any dependant of the English will be recorded against you, it is not a time to neglect using your influence in favour of any one, and hereafter you may reap the benefit of it."

He became very angry at the speech of mine and said, "You are still as insolent as ever." I answered, "I have always been so,

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and always shall be; but what about yours? I imagine when the English troops from the east and west arrive it will speedily depart." Sheikh Ezed Buksh, who had seen the treatment I had received, called out to him, "Khan Sahib, don't forget how much you owe to him, perhaps you may have need of him hereafter." On this he calmed down somewhat, and asked me what was the reason of my coming. I told him it was on account of news I had heard the previous night, and because of the treatment I had received from the Ameen's followers, that I and thirty or forty of my kinsmen were prepared to resist to the death, and if he could put a stop to any interference with me, I should be obliged; and in case of the English proving victorious in the end, I would do what I could for him; in any other case I was at his disposal.

To this he made no reply whatever, but Sheikh Ezed Buksh going to the Ameen, told him of my case, and becoming security for me, so released me from this trouble.

In the disturbances following upon these events, the enemies of the English spread abroad the report of the slaughter of the governor-general and of all those with him down to the eastern districts and the zemindars of Zillah Patna at once rose in rebellion. From Patna to Allahabad all roads were closed and communication cut off. The English from every side retired into the fort at Patna, while their servants and followers were killed without mercy by the Rajah's followers and the zemindars wheresoever they were found. All boats passing from Mirzapore to Ramnuggur were at once plundered. Rajah Koolly Khan, Amil of Mirzapore, arrested and sent to the Rajah fifteen French soldiers who had been left sick in Mirzapore, and the Killadar of Ramnuggur plundered the budgerow of the English doctor and his wife, which was passing. The doctor remonstrated, but was not listened to, so taking his wife's hand they both leaped into the river and were drowned.

Hyder Beg Khan, Naib Nawab Wazeer, who had come from Lucknow with 1,000 horse, 5,000 foot, and two guns, to meet the governor-general with Mirza Kalan, Foujdar of Azimgurh, and had arrived at Shewpore, found his passage across the Burna hindered by the Rajah's men and the rebellious zemindars, and

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so remained where he was. The Rajah sent Gholam Husen Khan to him to induce him to join his side, offering fifty lacs as nuzzur to the Wazir, and ten lacs to Hyder Beg himself. Hyder Beg Khan, however, would not give any definite answer, and put off the Rajah's people from time to time. The Rajah and his friends however, although they saw Hyder Beg was not disposed to join them, were loud in their boasting and vain-glory. In these times an universal enlistment was going on in the Rajah's territories; sowars and footmen came in crowds: whoever possessed an old lame horse at once enrolled himself as a sowar, and those who could find a sword and shield, as sepoys, so that it was given out there were 3,500 sowars and more than 1,00,000 footmen in his service. Of this force, 1,000 sowars and 50,000 footmen were stationed at or near Latifpoor, around which entrenchments were thrown up and armed with cannon.

Shahab Khan, Foujdar of Jounpoor, who had been stationed at Sitakhoond, opposite Ramnuggur, to prevent the English troops from passing that way, and had through neglect allowed them to get round him, was superseded by Thakoor Omrao Sing, who with 200 sowars, 1,000 burkundazes, and two companies of sepoys was posted there, with orders to be on the watch day and night, that the English should not cross the river from Chunar and collect supplies. Ramjeawun was posted at Patita fort with 200 horse and 3,000 footmen; Bullumdass, Amil of Ghazeepoor, with 700 sowars and 2,000 foot and two guns, was stationed outside the fort to assist the garrison; and Thakoor Bukht Sing, with 300 sowars and 3,000 footmen, was stationed on the right of Bullumdass, to watch the roads and prevent supplies reaching the English.

It had now come to pass that the garrison in Chunar were almost starving through their supplies being stopped by the Rajah's troops and the rebellious zemindars. Grain was selling at two seers for the rupee, while meat and ghee were not to be had at all.

It so happened that Captain Pyce, of the Nawab Wazir's service, who was stationed at Allahabad with three companies of sepoys, hearing of the distress of the garrison, took two companies and two guns, and crossing the river marched rapidly towards

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Chunar. So soon as he had passed the borders of Allahabad, the zemindars issuing from their strongholds attacked him. Captain P—— met them with a continued fire of musketry and dispersed them like crows or kites from before him; and encouraging his men marched long and far till he reached Gopeegunj, where he found the gates of the town closed against him by the zemindars. After a short contest, in which he had one sergeant, two Europeans, and fifteen sepoys wounded, he passed through, and in twenty-four hours reached the outskirts of Chunar. The Rajah's troops under Oomrao Sing and Shahab Khan did not attempt to oppose him, and he passed through them into Chunar.

The governor-general praised him highly for this feat, and appointed him to collect forage and grain. Captain P—— having ascertained that there were large stores of grain in the fort at Sitakhoond quickly surrounded the place; after a short resistance the defenders fled, and the place fell into his hands. He collected hundreds of carts, bullocks and coolies, and loading them with every description of grain sent them off to Chunar. For this good service he was made commander of a regiment and taken into the Company's army.

The next morning, boats laden with grain, despatched by the Colonel at Cawnpore under guard of two companies of sepoys, also arrived, so that both garrison and townspeople were relieved from their sufferings.

The troops under Bullumdass becoming troublesome by their raids up to the walls of Chunar fort, it was determined to make a sortie and destroy the force under Patita; and Captain Bulwer, who had fought at Ramnuggur, was appointed to command the party. Accordingly, on 11th Ramzan, taking four companies of sepoys and four guns, and having dressed his men as Hindoostanee foot-soldiers, disguising himself also, he reached the neighbourhood of Patita fort before daybreak, and concealed his force in a nullah. The spies of Bullumdass, who had given him information of the intended attack, his men, and those of Oomrao Sing, were under arms all night; and when, as the night passed away without any signs of the English troops, the tale of the spies was pronounced false,

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and the men lay down to sleep or went to their tents. Captain Bulwer, having found out his enemies' unguarded state, crept quietly near them and then began a fire of musketry. Bullumdass and the sowars fled at once, but his garrison returned fire from their cannon. The English guns, being too much elevated, did little hurt, while the fire of the enemy caused them considerable loss. When day broke Captain Bulwer discovered this mistake, and levelled his guns himself, so that the enemies' guns were soon dismounted. Seeing this they fled, and the English captured the cannon. In this engagement the English lost one company of sepoys, while on the other side Hookmunt Sing, Subadar, was killed; the English, however, remained masters of the field.

The news of this fight reached Rajah Chet Sing early in the morning, and he prepared to march to Bullumdass' assistance with all his force—sowars, footmen, matchlockmen, and fifteen guns. Suddenly, however, intelligence was brought by his scouts that four companies of sepoys and four guns had marched to attack Ramnuggur, and a like force was marching on Latifpoor; he halted in great uncertainty for a time, but finding the news to be false, resumed his march towards Patita. The English troops, taking advantage of this delay, retreated, having first spiked the large cannon and thrown the smaller one with its carriage into a well, and taken with them the light guns and all the powder.

The Rajah, having reached Patita, re-assembled the garrison, and was strongly advised by his officers to march straight on Chunar, that as he had with him 2,500 sowars, 50,000 footmen, and five guns, he could easily occupy the town, after which the capture of the fort would be no difficult matter; but he refused, and replacing Bullumdass in the fort, returned to Latifpoor.

The Nawab Wazir, who had marched from Lucknow to meet the governor-general, hearing the intelligence of his having been killed, together with all the English accompanying him, halted on his way to ascertain the real state of affairs. For some days the roads were so closely guarded that birds could hardly fly across them, and no certain information could be obtained. On the seventh day, however, a messenger of Mr. Middleton, disguised as a madman,

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passed through the enemy's lines, and brought a few words written by the governor-general on a piece of deer-skin, telling of his being safe in Chunar fort. The Nawab Wazir then, accompanied by Mr. Middleton, Mr. Johnson, and other English gentlemen, at the head of an immense army—horse, foot, and artillery—marched to the neighbourhood of Chunar, and on 21st Ramzan occupied the country round Benares and Chunar; the army of the Rajah, although fully equal in number, flying before him. The force under Hyder Beg Khan now marched from Sheopore and joined the Nawab, who, to please the governor-general, offered to place his entire army at his disposal for the chastisement of Chet Sing. The governor, however, declined, as he said Captain Roberts had already marched with his regiment, and on his arrival at Ramnuggur would render him a good account of the enemy.

Captain Roberts, who had started from Ramgurh with a regiment of sepoys and four guns, and abundance of warlike stores, was joined in his route by all the zemindars who had been dispossessed by Bulwunt Sing, and also by all the enemies of Chet Sing, and boldly advanced into the country of the latter, driving his troops and the zemindars of that part who opposed him like sheep before him. On the 28th Ramzan he reached Ramnuggur, where the Rajah's officers at the head of an immense force had thrown up entrenchments, from which they opposed his advance. Captain Roberts opened fire upon them with his guns, and speedily drove them out of their lines with great loss, and taking from Ramnuggur as much grain and other property as he could carry with him, proceeded to Chunar.

Meanwhile, envoys from Rajah Chet Sing were busy in the camp of the Nawab Wazir, and by bribes and promises won over his officers to their master's side, and so endeavoured to influence the Nawab. They succeeded so far, that one day, in conversation with the governor-general, he interceded for the Rajah and asked that his offences might be pardoned. The governor-general declined to do this, as the Rajah's men had been guilty of great oppression and cruelty to persons such as cultivators and travellers without the slightest excuse for their conduct, and it would not be befitting the

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English Government to let such acts go unpunished. He was therefore determined to chastise him to the uttermost, and as the Nawab himself soon learned of the deeds of violence of which the Rajah's men had been guilty, he fully acquiesced in the governor-general's resolve and turned Chet Sing's vakeels out of his camp.

It so happened that much about this time Baboo Muniar Sing, upon whom the Rajah had great reliance, and Raza Koolly Khan, Amil, of Mirzapore, both died after a short illness; and also Balkishoon Hazaree and Sirdar Sing, two of the best officers, died of their wounds. The loss of these leaders, the expulsion of his vakeels from the presence of the Nawab, and the gathering of a large English army at Chunar completely broke the Rajah's spirit, and he found himself left powerless and friendless in the presence of his enemy.

The English army being now assembled at Chunar, it was determined, if trustworthy guides could be had, to send one division to capture Bijyegurh and another to besiege Patita. Guides presented themselves in the nick of time; one Nund Lall, vakeel of Baboo Ramjeawun, who left his master in anger, offered to take the troops to Patita, and Bundhoo Khan, a piadah living in Chunar, offered, for a reward, to lead the English sepoys by a jungle road, unopposed by the Rajah's troops, to the fort of Bijyegurh.

The governor-general made these men the most liberal promises; and Bundhoo Khan pointed out a road midway between Patita and Suktesgurh, which was so difficult and jungly that no suspicion of its being taken by troops would arise. The governor-general sent Captain Bulwer with one regiment of sepoys and four guns on elephants to attack Bijyegurh, and under the guidance of Bundhoo Khan the force reached Lohra Sookrit, within twenty miles of Bijyegurh, without hindrance. Major Palmer and Captain Roberts, with one regiment of sepoys and three guns, marched to invest Patita, and guided by Nund Lall along a road unknown to the Rajah's people, reached the neighbourhood of Patita in safety.

The Rajah, on learning of the march of a force to Bijyegurh, and of its arrival by secret paths at Lohra Sookrit, despatched Mahomed Ameen Kumedan with six companies of sepoys, two guns,

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and one thousand matchlockmen to oppose it, and ordered Baboo Nunkoo Sing to follow with three thousand matchlockmen.

It was not yet daybreak when the engagement took place between the English sepoys and the Rajah's troops, the latter being sheltered by entrenchments; but after a short fight the Hindoostanee soldiers found themselves unable to cope with the sepoys and fled. Baboo Nunkoo Sing had not yet reached the field of battle when he met the fugitives, who imparted their panic to his army, which turned and fled without firing a shot. Nunkoo Sing, seeing nothing could be done, returned with a few followers to the Rajah, and Captain Bulwer established himself securely in Lohra Sookrit.

Major Palmer, who was lying in ambuscade near the fort of Patita, towards morning advanced to attack the entrenchments of Bullumdass; but, finding the enemy on the alert, he turned towards the lines of Thakoorai Bukht Sing and other zemindars lying near the fort, and by incessant volleys of musketry slaughtered them nearly all; a few unarmed and unclothed wounded men managed to get out of the entrenchments, which then fell into the hands of the English.

Nund Lall now told Major Palmer and Captain Roberts that if they would follow him, he could take them straight into the fort of Patita; these officers, however, were not disposed to take his advice knowing him to be a traitor, and they replied that they would not take their men through the darkness by an unknown path.

Nund Lall, ashamed at this rebuff and at his own treachery, absconded and went to Baboo Ramjeawun, to whom he said that the entrenchment had been lost by the carelessness of its defenders, and that he could ensure the capture of the English officers if the Baboo was so disposed. Ramjeawun however, esteeming his words folly, put him in arrest.

It was now morning, and the English advanced close to the fort, and putting a force in position on the high bank of a tank opposite it, opened a fire from it; while Major Palmer took up his station with a regiment between Bullumdass' force and the fort. After twenty-four hours' cannonading the walls of the fort were

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crumbled to dust. The Rajah, hearing of the straits his people were reduced to, sent 1,000 burkundazes and two guns to reinforce Bullumdass. Major Palmer, however, kept such a strict watch on him that he could not stir, nor could the reinforcement reach him, so that he abandoned his entrenchments and fled with all his force to Latifpoor. Baboo Ramjeawun speedily followed his example, escaping from the fort by a postern, having first put Nund Lall to death; and the English took possession of the place.

At one and the same time the Rajah heard of the capture of Patita and Lohra Sookrit, and of the flight of his troops from these places. At first he thought of taking his defeated and disheartened troops towards Patita, but his spies bringing word of the new approach to Latifpoor of the English troops from Lohra Sookrit, he turned to meet them, and had gone but a couple of miles when his people in Latifpoor, thinking he had fled, killed the French prisoners in the place and abandoned it. The Rajah bitterly regretted this act, and esteeming his case hopeless, and his country and property lost, thought now only of saving his family, and started for Bijyegurh. After thirty hours' journey through jungle and hills he reached Mow, near Bijyegurh, and there summoned a council of his kinsmen and followers who had shared his dangers and troubles. So far they all agreed in declaring that his ill-warned undisciplined horde of soldiers was unfit to oppose the English troops, and his best course would be to leave his family, in Bijyegurh and to go to the Deccan, with some of the chiefs of which place, whose army was better than the English, he ought to come to terms for an alliance. The Rajah agreed to this, and deputed Baboo Soojan Sing to go to the fort and load upon elephants, camels, and any other mode of conveyance as much coin, jewels, and valuables as there was carriage for, and bring them to him.

Kantoo Baboo and Brand, the European, who were in prison at Mow, petitioned for their release, and promised to effect his pardon if let off. Although this was far beyond their power, yet the Rajah, anxious to avail himself of every chance, sent for them, apologized to Brand, gave Kantoo Baboo a doshala and some other clothes, and providing them with horses, sent them to the governor-general with their servants.

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Kootb Ali Beg and Gopaldass Sahoo he took with him, the former on account of its being the wish of Fyz-oollah Beg, and the latter because of his wealth.

When the property was being removed from the fort Ali-ood-deen Kubra made a great outcry that the Rajah should take him with him, offering large sums for the purpose, and engaging to induce the governor-general to reinstate the Rajah in his territories. Some of the officials believed his statements and allowed him to accompany them on the descent from the fort. On the way, however, where the path was very narrow and dangerous, others of the Rajah's followers, ascribing their master's ruin to Ali-ood-deen's conduct, gave him a shove, and he fell down the precipice and was dashed to pieces, his two servants sharing his fate.

The Rajah, at his departure, put the fort in charge of Rughoburdial Sing and Ahlad Missir, and, accompanied by Soojan Sing, Sudanund Bukhshee, some Baboos, Gholam Husen Khan, Fyz-oollah Beg, 500 sowars, 2,000 footmen, and four companies of sepoys, started on his road to the Deccan. It is said that the jewels, coin, and other valuables taken with him loaded 25 elephants, 50 camels, 1,500 bullocks, 1,000 coolies, and 200 banghy-burdars.

Gopaldass, by the connivance of his guards, escaped one dark night, and at every stage old friends and followers, upon whom the Rajah placed implicit confidence, fell away from him on some excuse or other, and the Baboos also deserted him daily. The Rajahs of Bundelkhund and the zemindars of Bughelkhund plundered him at every step, until Beni Hazaree, the mookhtar of the Rajah of Poona, on account of old acquaintance, sent him assistance and put a stop to it. At length, after surmounting a thousand difficulties, he reached the plains in Duttia, part of the dominions of Scindia, and through Madho Rao, dewan, was received by him, and by reason of his being the Rajah of Kashee, kindness was shown him.

When the information of the flight from English territory of Rajah Chet Sing reached the governor-general, five regiments under Major Popham, Major Grant (or Crawford), Major Roberts,

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Major Balfour, and Captain Lane, and other officers, were ordered to march, for the purpose of taking possession of Latifpoor, after which a detachment was to proceed to besiege Bijyegurh.

The governor-general himself, after visiting Patita, went to the Nawab Wazir's camp, where he remained two days, and then, having to make arrangements for the settlement of the territories of Chet Sing, which he did not think it advisable for the Nawab or his ministers to know, he permitted him on 4th Showal to return at Lucknow.

On the 5th Showal, the governor-general, escorted by all the English officials and two regiments of sepoys, went to Ramnuggur, but finding the place too confined, the next morning he returned to Benares.

On the governor-general's arrival at Ramnuggur I related to him the story of the rescue of my family from the fort at Mutiha, and of the detention of all my goods and chattels there by the people of the place; he at once ordered a guard of sepoys to go to the place and recover the property from wheresoever they could find it. The people of the fort, taking my property to be ownerless, had sold and made away with all of it; but on the arrival of the sepoys it was all forthcoming, and having collected it, and bringing with them the headmen of the village, they returned to Ramnuggur, when, thanking God for his goodness, I received it, and obtained the men's release.

The governor-general, on reaching Benares, issued proclamations of amnesty, to restore the confidence of the people, and sent for the principal men of the city, heads of guilds, and Chowdharees, and presented each with a suitable khillut. He also visited the temples and made presents to attendants at each of them; and with a view of ascertaining the proper person to succeed to the "Raj" of Benares, he summoned the most learned Pundits to his presence, and desired their opinion as to who was the legal heir, according to their religion, after the death of Rajah Bulwunt Sing.

The Pundits all agreed in declaring that if a man had a daughter by his wedded wife, and a son by a woman to whom he was not

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legally married, the daughter would be his lawful heir, and not the son; and if a son were to be born to that daughter, he would be the rightful heir of his grandfather, and entitled to inherit his property. That in the case before them the lawful heir to Bulwunt Sing was Ranee Golab Koonwar; and next, her son; therefore there was no one with a better title to succeed to the "Raj" than Baboo Muheep Narain. Rajah Chet Sing, being illegitimate, had no right to the inheritance, but was installed as Rajah through the influence of Baboo Ousan Sing, who had since seen the result of his action in this matter. The governor-general, on learning the Pundits' opinion in favour of Muheep Narain, presented him with a khillut, and endued him with the rank and dignity of Rajah of Benares, making at the same time Doorbijye Sing, his father, Naib, and Ousan Sing, Diwan, to hold their offices under the consent of Ranee Golab Koonwar.

Colonel Popham and the other officers reached Latifpoor with their troops, and having garrisoned the place with two companies of sepoys under Captain Bulwer, proceeded towards Bijyegurh, where, after a most difficult and harassing march, they at last arrived.

A survey of the immense height of the fort, and the difficulty of taking it by escalade, somewhat perplexed them, but a zemindar of Agoree, fourteen miles from the fort, came in with the information that on its south side, a bowshot off, there was a hill called Lowa Koh, and opposite to this hill there were no defensive works. Colonel Popham was greatly relieved at this intelligence, and ordered Captain Carter to ascend the hill and throw up a battery on its summit, which would command the fort; at the same time, Major Grant was directed to ascend another hill to the north of the fort, and throw up a second battery there. On the following day, when all preparations were made, fire was opened from both sides. The garrison, utterly ignorant of what to do to defend themselves, either threw themselves down the precipice, or with great labour getting a gun in position fired it in the air. Meanwhile, the cannonade of the English ceased not, and at last the fort was silenced. Rughoburdial and Ahlad Missir, who were in charge of it, fearing for their

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lives, induced the Ranee to ask for terms; and Bishoon Sing, vakeel, was sent next day to Colonel Popham to ask for the conditions of surrender. Colonel Popham returned for answer that he had come to capture the fort, and not to make terms for its capitulation; but on the urgent entreaty of Bishoon Sing consented to forward his petition to the governor-general for peace, upon condition of restoration of territory. To this a reply came that no such terms could be granted. The Ranee, angered at this rejection, sent for the Dhangur watchmen of the fort, and promised them gold collars if they would destroy the English batteries. Two hundred of these men, incited by these offers, descended from the fort by night and attacked the south battery, where the sepoys, worn out by incessant labour, were off their guard. A lieutenant, an adjutant, and two hundred sepoys were killed, and the remainder took to flight. The Dhangurs entering the battery thought only of plunder, and returned to the fort, without injuring the battery or dismounting the guns.

Captain Green, on their departure, assembled his men and reoccupied the battery, opening fire from it immediately. A chance shot entering the Ranee's apartments and killing one of her servant-women, she declared that, rather than continue in such danger, she would burn herself, after which her people could do as they liked, and ordered gunpowder to be spread with which to destroy herself.

Bishoon Sing told Colonel Popham of the Ranee's intention, and he, feeling pity for her state, wrote of it to the governor-general, who immediately sent Kantoo Baboo with a message to her, that no grant of land or jagheer could be given her, but she was to ask anything else she desired. The Ranee requested that something for her maintenance might be granted from the property in the fort.

Colonel Popham accordingly, in consultation with Kantoo Baboo, decided to allow her fifteen per cent. of the value of the coin in the place, and also sent word by her vakeel that she might take away whatever jewels and valuables she could carry with her; further, a guard was given her to protect her and her people from any insult or injury. The Ranee was only too glad to accept these

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terms, and left the fort with all her women and family in palkees loaded with precious stones and jewelry—in fact in many nothing else was placed—and departed for Benares, where the governor-general gave her the house of Nawab Saadut Ali to live in, and provided her with all she wanted.

Colonel Popham then took possession of the fort and everything in it, which, according to the governor-general's promise, was to be sold for the benefit of the sepoys, and appointed Major Green to superintend the sale.

Due notice was given to all merchants and traders to attend the sale of Bijyegurh and buy what they wished; but, under the idea that the Rajah might return and call them to account, none came forward: consequently the servants of the English were the only purchasers, obtaining for one rupee things worth one hundred, and so becoming possessed of lacs of rupees worth of property.

The English officers bought the most valuable articles for next to nothing and re-sold them at high prices. I, myself, saw a servant of Major Green's buy a saddle with apparently old embroidery for two rupees at Bijyegurh. He sold it to a man in Benares for forty rupees, to whom my brother offered sixty for it, but the purchaser thinking that by burning the gold embroidery he would get more than that for the metal, refused the offer, and on burning it, what appeared to be plated iron and copper turned out pure gold, and realized Rs. 1,355.

I heard from Major Green's people that 75,000 gold-mohurs, Rs. 3,75,005, and Rs. 2,35,000 worth of vessels of gold and silver, brass and copper, Kashmir cloths, tents, carpets, and hangings, fell into the hands of the English writers. If these things had been brought to Benares and sold, they would have realized at least fifty lacs. Tents of silk and velvet with gold embroidery and fringes, which cost thousands of rupees, were sold in Benares by the servants of the English for the price of old clothes; gold *pân-dans* and *utr-dans*, which cost more than their weight in making, were sold for their weight in rupees, so that the dealers in Benares and Mirzapore, and other places, became wealthy merchants by their purchases.

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I heard from some of the Rajah's most trustworthy people that most of this property had belonged to Meer Rustam Ali Khan, Ali Koolly Khan, Mohamed Koolly Khan, Fuzl Ali Khan, and other Rajahs and zemindars, and was the collection of years. Amongst it were also hundreds of boatloads of valuables plundered by Rajah Bulwunt Sing from Nawab Meer Kasim Ali, on his coming to Benares, and being imprisoned by the Nawab Wazir, as well as the property abandoned at Doorgakhoond on this occasion.

Besides all this, Bulwunt Sing had in his pay bands of thieves on the roads between Patna and Allahabad, who used to plunder all they could find and brought it to him. He sent everything to Latifpoor and Bijyegurh for security, and neither he, nor his officers, nor Rajah Chet Sing, nor his agents, had any idea of the value or nature of the immense store at these places ; and furthermore, Chet Sing never denied himself anything, but spent lacs on buying all sorts of curiosities and valuables. In the end, of all the ready money, lacs came to the share of the sepoys. Every one down to the coolies at work in the fort took whatsoever he liked, no one preventing; the vakeel every time he left the fort took as much jewelry and valuables as he could carry; and of all that the Rajah took away with him, in spite of incessant losses and robbery, enough remained to make the mouths of the Mahratta Sirdars at Scindia's Court water; while the Ranee got Rs. 50,000 as her share, and what remained was divided amongst the officers and soldiers of the victorious army.

The governor-general, having now settled accounts with the rebels, proceeded to make arrangements for the government of the country. Baboo Doorbijye Sing was directed to produce the rent-roll of the four sircars under Rajah Chet Sing's rule; as, however, all records had been destroyed, it was with great difficulty that such a list was procured. From this paper it appeared that the total income, including jagheers to Baboos, amounted to forty-nine lacs. The governor-general, allowing four lacs for extraordinary sources of revenue, fixed the sum at fifty-three lacs; from this he deducted thirteen lacs for jagheers to Baboos, allowance to zemindars, expenses of police and other establishments, and settled the revenue payable by Rajah Muheep Narain at forty lacs, and granted him a

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sunnud to that effect. Pergunnahs, as agreed on, of the value of one lac and sixty-five thousand rupees as jagheer, and Pergunnah Kegra Mungror, under the Emperor Alumghir, were also granted to the Rajah Pergunnah Mahaich, of the value of Rs. 35,000, was granted to Baboo Doorbijye Sing in return for his services as Naib; and agreements were taken for the regular payment of revenue after the above deductions.

The maafeedars and pensioners of the four sircars now came in crowds to the governor-general applying for release of their lands; but were told by him that as their maafees had been resumed during the time of Nawab Shuja-ood-dowlah's rule, they could not now be released. However, he at last consented to restore one-half the value of those released in Mr. Marriott's time, amounting in all to Rs. 35,000 a year, which sum was to be deducted from the revenue payable by the Rajah. The forts of Bijyegurh and Latifpoor were placed under the commanding officer at Chunar, who also had the revenue of the stone quarries and "sayer" of fourteen villages assigned him, while to the Suzawul at Benares were assigned the customs' duties and mint at Benares.

Baboo Ousan Sing, on the strength of his intimacy with the English high officials, and especially on account of the favour shown him by the governor-general, began to boast of his being the man who expelled Chet Sing and set up Muheep Narain Sing in his stead, and considered no one his equal. He meddled in everything, and wished to appoint his own friends and dependants to collect the revenue. Baboo Doorbijye Sing would not stand this, and forbade his interference. Ousan Sing then tried backbiting and took every opportunity of blackening Doorbijye's character to the governor-general. The governor, however, would not listen to him, and put a stop to his interference with the management of the country; but finding that so long as he stopped in Benares quarrels with the Rajah's people continually arose, he ordered him to go to his jagheer in Sijadpoor, which he reluctantly obeyed, and took up his residence in Oocheree fort. At the time of the governor-general's departure from Patna for Benares, he left his wife, Judge L——— of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, and his wife, as

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well as some few English gentlemen, at the former place, and after his arrival at Benares, the following occurrences took place at Patna.

Bhugut Sing and his younger brother, Jugut Sing, came from Shahabad into Patna and waited upon Mr. Hastings, who desired Bhugut Sing to join Captain Roberts, who was then marching to Benares, promising on return to procure for him the restoration of his zemindaree. Bhugut Sing accordingly deputed his brother Jugut Sing to accompany Captain Roberts from Patna; and as the zemindars of Chowsa and Seringa were all either kinsmen or friends of his, they allowed the troops to pass freely and without hindrance. Jugut Sing having, under consent of Captain Roberts, made over charge of Talooka Serincha to his own officials, accompanied the force to Ramnuggur and took part in the operations there carried on. After order had been restored, Mr. Hastings, Judge L.——, and the other gentlemen proceeded to Benares. With them also went Bhugut Sing, zemindar of Serincha; Ali Azim Khan, nephew of Fuzl Ali of Ghazeepoor; Adil Shah, zemindar of Bijyegurh; and Bhuabul Sing, zemindar of Bulliah, in the hope of obtaining some reward or recompence for their services. Through the intercession of Mr. Hastings, the governor-general gave Talooka Serincha to Bhugut Sing; but Doorbijye, who was no friend of his, representing that Serincha was a very strong place, and its owner might easily cause disturbances, the governor-general amended his order, and assigned Rs. 11,000 nankar from the revenue of Pergunnah Chowsa instead. To Ali Azim Khan was granted an allowance of Rs. 12,000 a year from the revenue of Ghazeepoor; to Adil Shah, zemindar of Agoree, Rs. 8,000 a year from the revenue of his zemindaree; and to the Rajah of Bulliah Rs. 15,000 (?) a year from the revenue of his estate. Gobindjeet, zemindar of Kuntit, who came to Chunar and was introduced to Mr. Anderson by the author, obtained, through Mr. Anderson, an allowance of Rs. 35,000 a year from the revenues of his estates, from the governor-general.

In the days when Meer Kasim Khan, suffering the penalty of his misconduct, was wandering in misery about the country, he came to Kohud, and the Rana Chullun Sing gave him Bhut fort

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as a residence. Here he lived for some years; but, on hearing of the elevation of Mirza Nujuf Khan, thinking he would remember their old friendship, he came alone to Delhi. Mirza Nujuf Khan however, anxious to stand well with the English, treated him with contempt and indignity, and after a time he fell sick and died in Delhi. His family—seven sons and two daughters—remained in great poverty in Kohud. The Rana being able to do but little for them, on the governor-general's arrival, Syndee Hubeeb, an old servant of Meer Kasim Khan, took one of the sons, by name Bakur Ali Khan, with him to Benares, and tried, unavailingly, to get his case brought before the governor-general's notice by some of the officials. One day, however, Meer Sooleeman Khan, seeing the good treatment afforded to Chet Sing's family, took an opportunity of mentioning the case to the governor-general, who compassionated their sufferings, and sending for Bakur Ali granted him an allowance of Rs. 250 a month, Rs. 100 a month to each of his brothers, and Rs. 150 a month to each of his sisters, giving them a house in Kutra Darashikoh in Benares in which to live. About this time also a jagheer of Rs. 15,000 was given to Moonshee Shariat-oollah Khan in Pergunnah Bulliah; and one of the same amount in Pergunnah Khurid to Kantoo Baboo, Dewan. Pergunnah Bahunabad, the jumma of which was more than Rs. 3,000, was given to Beniram Pundit, vakeel of the Bhonsla; and Mouzah Jullalpore, with others of the value of Rs. 4,000, in Pergunnah Patita, were given to Bundhoo Khan, as a reward for his good services as guide. In fact every and any one who could show the least grounds for reward obtained it fully and freely, so much so that Ahmed-oollah, a resident of Muchhlishahur, by producing a Badshahi order relative to his obtaining some provisions, got a pension of Rs. 200 a month. Shahab Khan, on the mere recommendation of Captain Hawkins, got Rs. 500 a month, and Brahmins, and Bairagees, and other residents of the district were granted pensions and maafees in numbers.

Ali Ibrahim Khan, whom for several reasons the governor-general had brought with him from Moorshedabad, but for whom up to this time he had not been able to find any suitable employment, on the accession of the English to the Government of the four Sircars, was at length deputed to arrange for the establishment of

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courts of justice such as had been opened in Bengal, and which the governor-general desired to establish in Benares. For this purpose he summoned to his presence the chief men of the city and informed them of his intention, asking their opinions thereon. He declared his wish to appoint a competent man to look after the city, to prevent injustice and oppression, and protect the poor and helpless. The citizens heartily consented, and applauded the governor-general's desire. Ali Ibrahim Khan was accordingly appointed, and one lac of rupees ordered to be paid from the Company's treasury for his salary and that of the other establishment, on the following scale:—

Ali Ibrahim Khan, ...	...	Rs.	2,500	a month.
Nazir-ood-deen Khan, his son,	...	,,	500	,,
Darogha Adawlut, Dewanee,	...	,,	500	,,
Darogha Foujdaree, ...	...	,,	500	,,
Moulvies, each ...	...	,,	100	,,
Moonsiffs, ,, ...	...	,,	250	,,
Serishtadars ,, ...	...	,,	50	,,
Pundits ,, ...	...	,,	60	,,
Moonshees ,, ...	...	,,	40	,,
Muhurrirs ,, ...	...	,, 15 to	20	,,
Ameens ,, ...	...	,,	30	,,
Kotwal, ...	...	,,	150	,,
Naib Kotwal, ...	...	,,	60	,,
Deputy Kotwals, each ...	...	,,	15	,,
Serishtadar Kotwalee, ...	...	,,	40	,,
300 Chuprassies, each,...	...	,,	4	,,

One company of sepoys as convict guards, and Rs. 300 monthly rent of Rajah Shitab Rai's house in which the court was to be held. Ali Ibrahim Khan was further invested with full powers of appointment or dismissal, increase or decrease of pay, of all the establishment under him; and in the month of Zihad, having been presented with a khillut by the governor-general, was formally installed in office by Mr. Markham and Mr. Colebrook, who were appointed for this purpose by the governor-general.

Ali Ibrahim Khan affecting unconcern and dissatisfaction, but in his heart overjoyed, commenced his duties, and summoned learned

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men from Lucknow and Allahabad, and his own relatives and friends out of work from Moorshedabad, and gave them appointments as moonsiffs, kotwals, and such like officers. All appointments were subject to the approval of Mr. David Anderson; and as I had for a length of time enjoyed his friendship and favour, he nominated me as Darogah of the Dewanee Adawlut, and under orders from the governor-general, Mirza Husen, as darogah of the Foujdaree Court. Meanwhile, Tafuzzul Husein Khan arrived at Benares from the Rana of Kohud country, and was greatly favoured by the governor-general, to whom he applied for the post of darogah for his brother Rahmut-oollah Khan, going also to Ali Ibrahim Khan and telling him of Mr. Anderson's proposed appointments. He one day came to me, and said, that as I had been such a length of time with Mr. Anderson, I would surely obtain a good appointment shortly, which would be much preferable to being under the orders of Ali Ibrahim Khan on such small pay that I could barely exist, and that I ought therefore to decline it and remain with Mr. Anderson. I was taken in completely, and accordingly excused myself to Mr. Anderson. He, however, seeing from my manner that there was something concealed, said to me that a little authority in one's own country is better than the government of a foreign one; but as I still persisted in my refusal, he kept silence, and Ali Ibrahim Khan informed of all this, and submitted the name of Rahmut-oollah in place of mine.

After a few days it so fell out that Mr. Anderson was appointed envoy to the Deccan, and he made me his mookhtar. I was greatly pleased at this, but just before his departure, the governor-general, thinking Tafuz zul Husein Khan to be well acquainted with the politics of the chiefs of that part, appointed him to accompany Mr. Anderson. I, however, went with him one stage beyond Allahabad, and he did not wish me to leave him, neither did his brother, Mr. James Anderson; but, for several reasons, I excused myself and returned to Allahabad. Tafuzzul Husein Khan remained with Messrs. Anderson a little more than a year at the court of Scindia, but they did not get on well together; and under the excuse of his appointment as mookhtar at Lucknow they sent him away there. Mr. James Anderson, coming from Gwalior to Calcutta on some

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business, passed through Benares and sent for me. He persuaded me to accompany him to Calcutta, where I remained for several years, and performed much important work relative to Maharajah Scindia and the officials of the Peshwa, of which it would be tedious to tell, and moreover boastful; but is it not all written in the book "Ibratnamah," in the section relating to Maharajah Scindia?

After the arrival of the wives and children of Chet Sing in Benares, the governor-general paid them every attention that could be thought of; and when he heard that the children were lamenting for their father, he obtained a picture of Chet Sing from an Englishman who had bought it, and having had it set in gold sent it to them; besides this, daily presents of fruit and other things were sent them, and the guard had strict orders to protect the women from any insult. Some of the English who had been plundered of all they possessed, and whose wives and daughters had been insulted and abused by Chet Sing's servants, murmured at this conduct of the governor-general's, saying,—"Only a day or two ago Rajah Chet Sing plundered our boats, killed many of our followers, and imprisoned and cruelly abused others; and to-day, in return for such conduct, nothing is too good for his family. We do not think such indulgence and levity right or just. As he did to us, so do to him. Strip his women, drag them from their purdah, and expose them to open shame in the streets, and so inspire a fear for such retribution on all who would act as he has done. His people have been allowed to take lacs and lacs of rupees of money and jewels from Bijyegurh, while the Company's servants and traders, relying on the Company's protection, have been robbed of all they possessed by the people of Benares, who ought to be made to repay all losses, as they are well able to do." The governor-general replied that the person who had committed all the mischief was now suffering for it; that his family were guiltless of any fault, and he would not injure them; that it was contrary to the precepts of any religion to act to the helpless and innocent as was desired; that the plunder of the boats was not proved to have been done by the Benares people, and he could not therefore exact restitution from them; and that he had only gone twice to visit Chet Sing's family, when he had made his daughter some presents.

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Chet Sing's women, finding the governor-general so kindly disposed to them, instructed his daughter to ask to be sent to her father; and for this permission was granted; horses for carriage, Rs. 15,000 for travelling expenses and two companies of sepoys to guard the women as far as the boundaries of the English territory, were also provided by the governor-general.

When the governor-general was in Chunar fort, an inquiry was set on foot regarding the prisoner Bhao there confined, and it was determined that if the result should go to prove his identity, he should be released and reinstated in his possessions, and an alliance made with him on the same terms as those under which Rughonath Rao was then acting in conjunction with Colonel Gard against the Peshwa's army in Gujerat, so that he might proceed to the neighourhood of Gwalior and join Colonel Carnac and Colonel Master (Meadow?) in their preparations for war.

On one occasion the governor-general went himself to visit the prisoner; he, however, neither rose to receive him nor appeared conscious of his presence; and on the Governor-General asking him the date on which he had been defeated by the Afghans, he replied rudely: "It is only a day or two since you fled from one of your petty zemindars; and I doubt if you can remember the hour when you left Benares or when you reached Chunar. I was defeated by the kings of Persia and Afghanistan ever so long ago, and it is not wonderful if I have forgotten the date, and there is not much use in my talking about it." The governor-general, seeing his ill-humour, turned away. I was accompanying him, so he ordered me to remain and try to ascertain the facts of the case, and if the prisoner's story appeared true, to inform him.

I sat down with the prisoner and spoke of various things, and sympathized with his misfortunes and captivity. I said that he had lost a chance to-day by his carelessness; that there was no telling why the governor-general had visited him, or what his intentions were when he asked him those questions; that before this many men had appeared in Gwalior and Jhansie and declared themselves to be Bhao, but had suffered the consequences of their impostures; that if the governor-general had satisfied himself of the truth of

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his statements, in the twinkling of an eye he could raise him from his present condition. I further asked him if he did not know how Rughonath Rao, a homeless wanderer when he presented himself to the governor-general, had been restored to his government in full power; and at length I made him very much ashamed of his conduct. He said he only desired to live in Benares, that he was really and truly Bhao, the nephew of Balajee Rao, Peshwa, and could give a connected account of himself.

I asked him the reason of the expulsion of Biswas Rao and Bhao from Poona, and how it was that Bhao, notwithstanding his large army and artillery, was defeated and put to flight by Dewan Nizam Ali Khan. He replied. The state of the case was this: Balajee Rao appointed Ragho Bhonsla to overrun Bengal Mulhar Rao the Doab, and Dena Scindia Agra and Delhi. Bhaskur Pundit, one of the Nagpoor leaders, accordingly attacked and ravaged the whole of Bengal. Mulhar Rao subdued the Doab as far as Allahabad, and Dena Scindia brought the whole country from Agra to Delhi up to Lahore into subjection. Balajee Rao then desired to destroy the dynasty of Baber and bestow the empire of Hindustan upon one of his own sons, and made Biswas Rao Emperor, and appointed one as his chief minister, first, however, sending one to conquer Nizam Ali Khan. I fought and defeated him in many battles and seized many fortresses and much territory of his, until one day his Dewan, who had come to make terms, finding me off my guard, stabbed me in the belly with his dagger. He was immediately seized, but I ordered his release. I can show the marks of that wound to this day. When I had brought the country fully into subjection, I heard of the march of the Emperor from Lahore to attack Dena Scindia, and joined Biswas Rao in his march to assist him towards Hindustan. On our way we heard of the death of Dena Scindia; regardless of which we continued our advance to Delhi, which we besieged and took, and made Jeewan Bakht Emperor. Biswas Rao, with the ignorance of youth, wished to seat himself on the throne, but I told him to ask the advice of Futteh Shah Dooranie. Backbiters now estranged him from me, and dissensions broke out among the Mahratta Chiefs, some adhering to Biswas Rao, and others to me. Ibrahim Khan Kardi, one of my chief

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officers, joined the Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla, and Soorujmul Ját deserted me in the battle-field and went to his own country. Biswas Rao, seeing his error, now became reconciled, and together we attacked the Afghans. Biswas Rao was killed by a cannon shot, and desparing of success, I seized tulwar and shield, and leaping from my elephant, rushed into the thickest of the fight, where I speedily fell to the ground desperately wounded. This happened on 6th or 7th of Jamad-ul-auwul of 1174 Hijree. One of my followers raised me, half dead as I was, and concealing me in a hollow carried me away during the night. It was many days ere my wounds were sufficiently healed to allow me to go to the Deccan and see my uncle, and during this time he died of grief, his son Madho Rao succeeding him as Peshwa. When I had recovered, I disguised myself as a Bairagee, and making a pilgrimage to different shrines, at length reached Jhansie. Here I was recognized by many of my followers, who took me to the fort of Kurhia, and numbers of them collected around me. Rughonath Rao, my uncle, and mookhtar of Madho Rao, did not know of my being alive, and sent Mulhar Rao to attack my followers, who not being prepared or armed were defeated in a slight engagement, and I was taken prisoner. Mulhar Rao then recognized me, and sent me with all honour to Poona.

"Rughonath Rao and Parbuttee, his wife, having adopted Madho Rao, Peshwa, as their son, and fearing the reproaches of his other wives, sent me to the fort of Doulutabad, concealing the true state of the case; there I remained two years, but the Killadar being a friend of mine connived at my escape. I went into Malwa, and my followers again crowded about me, but Madho Rao Scindia, whom I had raised from the dust, proved ungrateful, and came out to attack me. After a long struggle my men were defeated, and a servant, who resembled me in appearance, willing to save me, gave me his clothes in exchange for mine, and took my place and was killed. I escaped, and in the guise of a fakeer went to the country of Mulhar, whence I made the pilgrimage to Surudweep, Dwarika, Setbuno, Rameshwur, and other places of the sort. I also went to Assam, and then feeling myself growing old, I came to end my days in Kashi. There again my followers gathered around me, and the

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result was that I am here." Having thus spoken, he burst into tears. I asked him whether he would be able to fight Mahajee Scindia, if the Governor-General should restore him to power. He said that Scindia could not oppose a well appointed army, and that if a year's time to levy and discipline men were given him, it would be no difficult thing to conquer the whole of Malwa and Khandesh.

Having taken down his statement, I submitted it to the Governor-General, who was much pleased, and determined to release Bhao, and send him to Colonel Muir at Furrakhabad with every mark of respect, so that he might accompany that officer in his march to Gwalior, to reinforce Colonel Carnac, and join in the hostilities against the Mahrattas. It so happened that on this very day Nawab Asuf-ood-dowla was enquiring about Bhao, and mentioned that he had heard from his father that Bhao was killed in the battle with the Afghans, and his head brought to the Shah. Hearing this the Governor-General became doubtful, and Mr. Colebrooke sent for me and told me. I said perhaps it was so, but then if so, what is the use of keeping this man in confinement at an expense of five rupees a day. If he be the real Bhao, he will be more useful than Rughonath Rao in breaking the strength of the Mahrattas. If he be not the real Bhao, then setting him free, whoever he is, will be a cause of dissension amongst the Deccanees. Mr. Colebrooke approved, and induced the Governor-General to set him free; and on that day he was not only released, but Rs. 5,000 were given him to provide himself with a proper equipage.

Bhao, on reaching the gate of the fort, distributed every pice of this money among the English servants of the English, and the poor about the place, not retaining one rupee even for himself. He then went to Benares, and was welcomed by the same Mahratta as on the previous occasion. On the arrival of the Governor-General at Benares, information from Colonel Muir reached him of Scindia having made peace and returned to his own territories, and of the return of the English army to Etawa. His plans therefore with regard to Bhao were changed; and, instead of them, Mr. David Anderson was sent as envoy to Scindia, through whose means negotiations for peace were to be made to the Peshwa. All these things are they not written in the "Karnamah Gwalior," compiled

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by this writer? and those who desire to learn of them may there satisfy themselves.

Bhao remained for a long time in Benares; and for some reason unknown, went to Gorukhpoor, and there died.

He then presented me with some trays of valuables and money, and pressed me to remain with him, promising to guarantee that I should get as much as I should at the Madrissa, and further offering me a jagheer of Rs. 5,000 a year. I declined, saying, so long as I had not informed him of my claim to fullness of knowledge, I would have taken whatever he gave and done whatever he said; but now having informed him, I refused to take anything. Saying this, I took my leave of him. It so happened that at this time Mr. David Anderson was in the council at Patna, and hearing of my capabilities, wished to see me, as he was engaged in the translation of the *Hidayah* and *Zikhira Hashtani* into English. I remained some months with him very pleasantly, until he was appointed to a higher office, and went to Calcutta, when Patna became distasteful to me, and I came to Moorshedabad. The late Nawab Syud-ool-Mulk Asad-ullah Khan, one of the chief men of the zillah, hearing of my arrival, came to visit me, asking many learned questions, with my answers to which he was much pleased. He was accompanied by Sadrool Huq Khan, lately appointed Foujdar of Moorshedabad on the transfer of Nawab Moozuffer Jung; and he recommended me to him for the post of his deputy. As, however, I had heard of the capricious temper of Sadrool Huq from the people at the place, I declined the offer, and came on to Calcutta; Nawab Moozuffer Jung having previously sent a perwannah to his agent, Meer Syud Ali, in Chetpoor, to receive and entertain me. Immediately on my arrival at Chetpoor he came to meet me, and chose for me a suitable house. Next day Moonshee Sadar-ood-deen, a celebrated man in those parts, sent Moulvie Gholam Muhee-ood-deen, with his brother, to invite me to come to the city. I accepted the invitation, and was much pleased with my reception. He also gave me a house of Sheikh Kamal-ood-deen's, Khansamah to Rajah Nundkoomar, in Armenian Bazar, in which to live, and became security himself for all my expenses and those of my companions.

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I here renewed my acquaintance with Mr. David Anderson; and one day in conversation with him he gave me such an account of the ability of Mr. Henry Vansittart, son of the principal officer under the Governor, that my desire to see him was greatly excited. I suspect, too, that my name had been mentioned to Mr. Vansittart, and he was anxious to see me, for we went at once to visit him.

Shams-ood-dowlah.

I found Mr. Vansittart to be a very talented and affable man. He was at the time engaged in studying a treatise on grammar (syntax?), and had two Bengalee Moulvies as tutors. On my arrival, he at once sent for his books, and mentioned what he had last read, asking his Moulvies about some idioms which it is necessary for a beginner to master. The Moulvies were unable to give him any explanation, at which he was greatly annoyed. He further enquired of them the use and object of grammar, but they could give no reply. Here I ventured to put in a word, and advised him before commencing the study of any book, in either Persian or Arabic, to ask his tutor what science it was about; of what use was the science; concerning what things the science treated; and what use was there in studying it: without first ascertaining these three points it was no use studying any science, nor could one science be distinguished from another. I then explained to him the object and reasons of the science of grammar, at which he was much pleased, and wrote down what I said with his own hand. At his request, I also translated from Arabic four or five sections of the book on phrases and idioms, for his use. One day he was regretting that a friend, to whom he had let the "Arabian Nights Entertainment," had not returned it, else he would have read it with me. I said the book was no great thing, and its style was not elegant, and that, if he really wished to study Arabic, I would compile for him two thousand such stories, and in good Arabic. He seized my hand at this, and exclaimed "*Alkirim aza wadu wafu;*" and seeing he was in earnest in his desire, in a few months I wrote out more than 900 stories in elegant Arabic, which he got by heart and translated. Unexpectedly I had to accompany him to Lucknow, and the compilation of the book was postponed. Let us see what amount of knowledge can be arrived at when there is an inclination to learn.

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Narrative of the re-appearance of Sudasheo Bhaoo, who had been defeated and put to flight by the Afghans, and of the termination of his deeds.

In 1172 Hijree, Sudasheo Bhaoo, having been defeated in battle by Shah Abdali, disappeared. Some said he had been slain, and others suspected that he had escaped alive; many impostors, therefore, giving themselves out to be Sudasheo, raised disturbances in the Deccan: some of these were killed, and some imprisoned. In the present year, a man having the appearance of a beggar happened to be bathing at the river-side, when a Mahratta, who had formerly been a follower of Sudasheo's, came by, and time after time looked at the beggar intently. The beggar asked him, "What are you staring at?" The Mahratta replied, "I cannot tell you what thought occurs to me about you." The beggar said, "I am not the man you think me to be." The Mahratta answered, "How do you know that?" The beggar replied, "You are so and so, formerly a follower of Sudasheo, whom you take me to be. I am not Sudasheo, but a wandering fakir, travelling every day, and resting at night wherever I may be. I am here now, but goodness knows where I may be to-night." The Mahratta now felt certain this was his old leader, and fell athis feet; and by dint of prayers and entreaties induced him to come to his house, and when there laid all his possessions before him. A Mahratta woman, a rich widow living in Benares, on hearing of the occurrence, came to Sudasheo and presented him with all her wealth. He then acknowledged his identity, and furnished himself with the appurtenances suitable to his rank, and sent for all the Mahratta leaders who were then living in Benares. When it became known that Sudasheo Bhaoo had re-appeared, his old acquaintances gathered round him. He purchased thousands of rupees worth of cloths and jewels from merchants, and horses from foreign dealers, and began to engage sowars and footmen.

Lal Mahomed Khan, a friend of mine, waited upon him, and was appointed paymaster, and was directed to send purwanahs to the principal persons in the neighbourhood, asking for loans on the following terms:—that any one lending Rs. 4 would be repaid Rs. 16; or Rs. 5, then with Rs. 25. Heaven only knows what his plans or intentions were!

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When asked by his friends his reasons for engaging armed men, sometimes he replied that he had five lakhs of rupees with mahajuns, which he was about to obtain from them, and sometimes said that there was more than a crore of rupees of his with certain persons in Bundlekund, and unless compelled by force they would not repay the money. In the course of a month he had collected nearly 2,000 footmen, 50 or 60 sowars, and 10 or 15 private servants. Daily from 500 to 600 Mahratta Brahmins used to eat with him, and the mahajuns, especially those connected with the Deccan, paid him every attention. Very frequently confidential servants of Rajah Chet Singh visited and encouraged him.

Lal Mahomed Khan, who was well acquainted with the English, often advised him that his proceedings would not be permitted in English territory, and that if any suspicion arose in Mr. Graham's mind as to his ulterior intentions, he would not be allowed to remain in Benares. Sudasheo, however, full of pride and insolence, used to reply that Mr. Graham would never think of such disrespect.

Mr. Graham, who had heard of all these doings, remained quiet, thinking that Sudasheo would leave the city immediately of his own accord; but one day a hurkarra of Mr. Graham's met and had an altercation with one of Bhaoo's men, who beat him and broke his staff. The hurkarra came to Mr. Graham with a broken head, and complained of the conduct of Bhaoo's man. Mr. Graham sent his chobdar to Bhaoo to represent what had occurred, and to beg he would warn his men not to act so in future. The chobdar, instead of making a request, gave his message as an order, and angered Bhaoo, who told his servants to take the chobdar by the ear and turn him out. The chobdar magnified what had happened a hundredfold to Mr. Graham, who did not believe him, and was angry at his conduct. He, however, sent another messenger to Bhaoo, to say that unless, as other Mahrattas in the city, he contented himself with 10 or 20 retainers, and refrained from causing disturbance, he must leave the city. Bhaoo returned an insulting and angry reply to this message. Mr. Graham immediately wrote to the Colonel commanding at Chunar, to despatch four companies of sepoys, and sent purwanahs to Rajah Chet Singh to prepare his

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forces; at the same time sending a message to Bhaoo that, if he wished to preserve his good name, he would leave the city before evening, if not he would regret it hereafter. Bhaoo's friends advised him, while there was yet the opportunity, to leave the city with his armed followers, and camp at Murwahdih, from whence he could come to terms with Mr. Graham; and if by good fortune the affair was settled peaceably, well and good; if not, then his best plan was to seize those Mahrattas from whom he claimed money, and fly across the Jumna. Bhaoo replied, that he had the day before received intelligence that two or three Chiefs, with four or five thousand troops, were coming at his summons, and would soon enter the city, when with their help he would seize upon Mr. Graham, Rajah Chet Singh, and some of the chief mahajuns of the city, and take them to Bundelkund.

Lal Mahomed Khan, hearing this absurd plan, said to Bhaoo:—"I believe you are not really Bhaoo, for he was a wise and prudent man, while your proposals are utter folly, inasmuch as, by the time your allies can arrive, you will have been destroyed. I cannot any longer continue in the service of such an imprudent and short-sighted man." Saying these words, he quitted the place. Bhaoo on this became somewhat more reasonable, and calling his vakeel, sent him to Mr. Graham, to apologize for what had occurred, and to ask permission to remain a few days longer in the city. It so happened that Mr. Graham was at dinner when the vakeel arrived, and so a delay occurred, during which time Gholam Husen Khan, and Fyz-oollah Beg, with their troops, had crossed the river, and were close at hand. A hurkarra of Bhaoo's brought him the news, and the greater part of his newly-engaged men, hearing of what was impending, got out of the way with all speed. A few, however, true to their salt, and desirous to preserve their honour, came to Bhaoo prepared to fight, and said, "You have got us into this scrape by your imprudence; there is yet time for us to take sword and shield and get out of these lanes and alleys to some place where we can fight, for in these houses we can do nothing."

Bhaoo had not yet finished his dinner, nor had his vakeel returned from Mr. Graham, when the Rajah's troops took possession of the approaches to his house, threw up barricades, and

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stopped all communication. Night now fell, and as the courage and daring of Bhaoo were well known, none of the Rajah's men felt inclined to attack him, and the night passed in watching each other. At daybreak the Rajah's men and the English sepoys, getting into the house next to Bhaoo's, found out how few his followers were, and attacked him through the windows. A few shots were fired on both sides, when the sepoys captured the muskets of the Mahrattas, who prepared to fight with swords and shields. As, however, the sepoys had no orders to kill their opponents, they told them they were throwing away their lives for no reason, and that they had much better come peaceably to Mr. Graham. Bhaoo, who had come to his senses, consented to this, and getting into his palkee came to Bagh Madho Doss, where Mr. Graham was, and by his orders was sent to Chunar Fort.

Narrative of events of the year 1193 *Hijree: General Sir Eyre Coote proceeds up-country to inspect the army, and to obtain presents from the Chiefs on his road.*

In the beginning of this year Sir Eyre Coote and Mr. Francis arrived in Calcutta, the former as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, and the latter as Member of Council. A struggle now commenced between the Governor-General and Messrs. Wheeler and Francis to gain over the General, and it was at last settled that, as the General had been put to great expenses in his journey, he should march on a tour of inspection of the English troops from Burhampoor to Futtehgurh, and in the way the Chiefs in Bengal and Patna, and the Nawab Asuf-ood-dowlah and his nobles, would be certain to make him valuable presents, and thus recoup his expenses. Sir Eyre, who saw and disliked the dissensions in Calcutta, gladly consented, and prepared for the journey.

As the General was ignorant of both Persian and Hindee, the Governor-General in Council appointed Mr. Henry Vansittart, who was a proficient in both languages, to be his interpreter, and he was given full powers in all affairs of State. Furthermore, all communications with the Chiefs and Nobles of the country were to pass through him.

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Mr. Johnson, who had been a friend of the late General Clavering, and for this reason considered an opponent by the Governor-General, obtained access to Sir Eyre Coote through his mistress, and soon became his confidential adviser, and obtained a knowledge of all his companions and associates. Mr. ———, who was a friend of the Governor's, and also secretly of Mr. Johnson's, discovered the latter's wishes, and induced me to join him, engaging that my salary should be Rs. 500 monthly. He took me to Mr. Johnson, whom I found to be a wise and ambitious man. In his company I was astonished to hear of the Governor-General's dislike to him, and of his being in consequence opposed to his attending the General in his tour.

Mr. Henry Vansittart, who had been my great friend, and had privately mentioned me to the Governor-General, and put my name under his own, hearing of my going to Mr. Johnson, became very angry. I excused myself by declaring my ignorance of any differences between the Governor and Mr. Johnson, and asked Mr. David Anderson's advice as to what I should do in the matter. Mr. Anderson told me that, on account of the disposition of the Governor-General towards Mr. Johnson, it would be more prudent for me to leave him and adhere to Mr. Vansittart; and as I myself saw how matters lay, I thought it preferable to engage with him, and was by him presented to the Governor-General, and appointed to accompany him in this tour.

Mr. Johnson then engaged Moortuza Koolly Khan, Kashmiri. Shooja Koolly Khan, the son of Nawab Muneer-ood-dowla, and an enemy of old standing of Moortuza Koolly Kkan, told the Governor-General that Moortuza was brother of Mehndi Koolly Khan, who had killed the Emperor Alumgeer, and that his family from that time had not been allowed to attend any Durbars, and consequently the Nawab Wazeer would take offence at seeing him accompany the General. The Governor, who held no communication with Mr. Johnson, was incensed at his proceedings, and informed the General, who reprimanded Mr. Johnson, and turned Moortuza Koolly Khan out of Calcutta.

After this Sir Eyre Coote appointed Mr. Purling (?), chief officer of Rungpoor, to supersede Mr. Middleton, and despatched

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him to Lucknow; while he himself, with Colonel Dean, Mr. Johnson, and other gentlemen, with one hundred and odd French servants of the Company, started from Calcutta for Burhampoor.

After a few days' stay there, spent in reviewing the troops, he took two regiments as escort, and with his suite embarked on boats for Moorshedabad, the troops marching along the banks of the river and keeping pace with the boats. Arriving at Moorshedabad, the Nawab Moobaruk-ood-dowlah presented the General and the gentlemen with him with gifts of valuable jewels, horses, elephants, tents and pavilions, and other articles of luxury, each one according to his rank and dignity.

During our stay at Moorshedabad I went one night to visit Syud-ool-mulk Assud-ullah Khan, my kind benefactor, and there I saw Moortuza Koolly Khan apparently awaiting my coming. When I had saluted the Nawab, and taken a seat, he addressed me saying, "Do you recognize this person? He is from your part of the country, and through misfortune is reduced to his present state. His enemies have persuaded the General to prevent his accompanying him; but if, through your representations and intercession, Mr. Vansittart will remove the General's bad opinion of him, he will remain for ever grateful to you and obedient to your least wishes." Moortuza Koolly Khan then spoke, and said, he had been stopped from going to Allahabad with Mr. Johnson and the General, which it was his most earnest desire to do; that if, through my means, he were reinstated in his connexion with Mr. Johnson, he would be for ever bound to me, and do what he could to forward my wishes with Mr. Johnson; and would, besides, refrain from any interference in any way in any affairs concerning the General or myself, and called God and the Prophet to witness the truth of what he said.

As I was under great obligations to the Nawab, I replied that I would obey his orders; but I added, "This man is a Kashmiri, and Kashmiris invariably return evil for good; ingratitude and treachery are their necessary attributes, and they stop at nothing to attain their object; nevertheless, in spite of this my experience of them, I will do as you desire, and will settle the matter to-morrow." I then said to Moortuza Koolly Khan, "Although I have always seen the

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result of your actions to be evil and treachery, yet as, by the order of the Nawab, I am doing you a favour, see that you in return do no wrong."

The next morning I related to Mr. Vansittart what had occurred over night, and pleaded Moortuza Koolly Khan's cause so successfully that he most generously obtained from the General an order that Moortuza's boat should be allowed to join the fleet. So Moortuza with a clear countenance immediately joined Mr. Johnson's boats to his own, and the intercourse between them became constant.

Moortuza was thoroughly well acquainted with the customs and the manners of Hindustan, and with all the private politics of the Chiefs both of the zillah and of Hindustan, and made Mr. Johnson as well acquainted with them as he was. He also in his own name despatched letters to the Sirdars of Patna, Benares, and Lucknow, informing them of the appointment of Mr. Johnson under the General, and advising them to court his favour, and inviting them to wait upon him, inasmuch as few officers of so high a rank as the General had ever been in these parts of the country. This information caused great fear and doubt to all the Chiefs of the country about Patna, to Rajah Chet Sing, and the ministers of the Nawab Wazeer; and taking the accounts of Mr. Johnson's appointment and of Moortuza Koolly Khan's influence as correct, they sent them confidential vakeels with presents to wait upon Mr. Johnson, and a friendly correspondence began between them.

Moortuza Koolly Khan, who well knew the income of all the Sirdars of Patna, obtained from them for Mr. Johnson tents, elephants, and horses with gold and silver trappings, and all sorts of furniture and appurtenances calculated to make an imposing show of wealth and dignity.

I noticed all these proceedings, and advised Mr. Vansittart to make the same display, and interest himself in everything going on about the affairs of the State; but Moonshee Tahri, Bengalee, an old friend of his, opposed my wishes, saying that Mr. Vansittart's rank and dignity did not depend upon the splendour of his appointments and establishment. Every one knew he was the son of the

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"Light of the State," and beloved by Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. Furthermore, he had been appointed by the Council to the management of all affairs of State, and every Chief and Noble would pay him court. Mr. Vansittart agreed with the Moonshee, and paid no attention to my advice. On arriving at Patna, the Chiefs of the district, seeing the splendid show made by Mr. Johnson, and listening to the boasting of Moortuza Koolly Khan, did not come near Mr. Vansittart, but crowded to Mr. Johnson, and were by him introduced to the General. The vakeels of the Chiefs of Lucknow and of Rajah Chet Sing transacted no business with Mr. Vansittart, and were continually with Moortuza Koolly Khan, who had firmly fixed himself in Mr. Johnson' sfavour. He interfered in all the affairs of State carried on by the General, and settled the cases of the Sirdars of Patna as he thought proper.

He had till then just barely recognized me, and now ceased even this, while at the same time he began to contrive schemes to meddle with Mr. Vansittart's position, and to procure my dismissal from the camp. Mr. Vansittart felt vexed that, after being appointed by the Council, he was sitting idle, and had nothing to do but interpret for the General and write letters for him, all other business being transacted by Mr. Johnson.

At Patna, when any of the Sirdars came to wait upon the General, they were introduced by Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Vansittart was sent for to interpret. Nevertheless, he felt no resentment to Mr. Johnson, nor even complained of him, and in private he used to tell me that it was on account of the high rank of his father he had been appointed to such an inferior post, the Governor-General wishing him to learn how business was carried on; but that he had still this power, that no one could address the General except through him.

Meeting between Rajah Chet Sing and Sir Eyre Coote through Mr. H. Vansittart.

Moulvie Ali-ood-deen Kebra, having intensely alarmed Rajah Chet Singh by the intelligence that the reason of Sir Eyre Coote's march in state up-country was solely for his chastisement, he neglected all his other affairs, and sending his family and valuables to

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Latifpur and Bijaygargh, alone waited the General's arrival. On hearing of the General having left Patna, he sent Baboo Soojan Sing, his younger brother, Bukshi Sudanund, Rai Brij Lal, Meer Abdoollah, and other confidential and trustworthy agents, to meet and welcome the General, and, through Moortuza Koolly Khan, to gain over Mr. Johnson, and thus learn the General's disposition towards him. Mr. Graham arrived at the camp before they did, and informed the General of the misconduct of Rajah Chet Sing. When they arrived at Buxar, they waited on Moortuza Koolly Khan, and were by him brought to Mr. Johnson, in order that he might introduce Baboo Soojan Sing to the General. Mr. Johnson, however, having no desire to quarrel with Mr. Graham, and knowing the General's temper, refused to do so. Soojan Sing then had recourse to Rajah Hoozooree Singh and Baboo Dyachund, Dewan of the General, and they, relying on their familiarity with the General, took Soojan Sing to him; but he would not listen to a word, and ordered Soojan Sing to be turned away. The captain of the fleet ordered his men to cut the cables of Bukshi Sudanund's and Soojan Sing's boats, which they did; and as the river was in flood, and the boats had no boatmen on board, it was with the utmost difficulty they reached the bank again.

Towards the close of the day, as I was sitting on a chair at the river-side and performing my ablutions before praying, I noticed a few men on horseback, and one in a palkee, coming towards where I was. One of the horsemen looking at me began to sigh and groan, and made off. I was ignorant of what had just happened, and sent one of my servants to ask what was the matter. He brought the man to me. I enquired, "Who are you, and what has happened to you, and why did you groan at seeing me, and run away?" He replied, "I am Meer Abdoollah, the vakeel of Rajah Chet Sing. Two or three years ago there was a Maulvi in Benares with whom I had acquaintance, of whom you remind me, and the remembrance caused me to sigh; if he were here I would relate all my griefs to him." We then fully recognized each other, and I asked what misfortune had befallen him. He alighted from his horse, and fell at my feet, calling to Brij Lal and the others to come on. They

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then related all the misadventures and misfortunes of Chet Sing and Soojan Sing.

I said, "Your vakeel has accompanied Moortuza Koolly Khan from Patna, and at every stage given him large presents: what has become of him?" They replied that they believed the reports about Moortuza Koolly Khan and his influence until now, when the occasion arrived to prove their truth, and they found themselves deceived and disgraced, and their master's wishes unaccomplished, and were so returning; further, that Soojan Sing had taken the indignity so much to heart that he had sworn to drown himself rather than show his face again to Chet Sing.

I felt pity at hearing their tale, and said, "Although an opportunity has been lost, and, through the insinuations of your enemies, the General is not well disposed towards your master, yet I will undertake to clear him; after that, it will be as your fortune may turn out." I then took them to Mr. Vansittart, and told him the affair. He said, that, on account of the bad reports of Mr. Graham, the General was not in a friendly mood towards Chet Sing, and it would be a difficult matter to bring him round. I urged that Chet Sing had not been refractory or rebellious, and had obeyed every order of the Council; there was therefore no just cause for the displeasure of the General. Mr. Vansittart replied, that the origin of this unfriendliness of the Governor-General was the court paid by Chet Sing's vakeel to General Clavering, which was well known; but for this the Governor-General had retaliated, and the Council had not authorized the General to injure or disgrace the Rajah in any way, nor had he it in his power to punish him in the slightest degree. "All the orders of the Council are with me, and the recommendation of the Chiefs of this zillah, and the introduction of them in their due order to the General, is my duty; but I do not think there is any necessity for interfering with another Englishman in this duty." I answered, "The Governor-General appointed you to accompany the General in this journey for two purposes: first, to acquire experience in the affairs of Government; and, second, to endeavour to make for yourself a good name; and the protection and encouragement of the men before you afforded a present means of doing so." Mr. Vansittart

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on this sent for the vakeels, and Meer Abdoollah and Brij Lal presented themselves. He ordered them to be seated, and condoled with them on their ill-luck; while they, finding him so friendly, told him of the wretched condition of Soojan Sing on account of what had happened. He then ordered me to accompany the vakeels back to Soojan Sing, to console him, and tell him to come across the river next morning, when Mr. Vansittart promised to introduce him to the General's kind notice, after which he might depart. It was a dark night, and the river flooded, but Mr. Vansittart having given me a light boat of his own, and being anxious to comfort these men who had undergone such hardships, I went, accompanied by Moonshee Tahri and some sepoys, and with some difficulty got across the river to Soojan Sing's camp. At first, on seeing the boat and hearing the voices of the sepoys, Soojan Sing became alarmed, and was about to fly, but having learnt the true state of affairs, was ready to jump out of his clothes for joy; and, notwithstanding his excessive pride and haughtiness, for which he was publicly mimicked, ran and fell at my feet, saying, "I look on you as my father and grandfather, and as long as I live shall thank you for what you have done."

I then gave him Mr. Vansittart's message, and so plucked out the thorn of anxiety from his side.

Some trays of cloths and money were then presented to me, of what value I know not, which I declined to receive, saying I had vowed before God to take no gifts in such matters, and to keep myself free from the contamination of filthy lucre; and with great difficulty they were taken back. Moonshee Tahri accepted what was presented to him, and after a few more words of comfort and consolation we left.

Next morning, Soojan Sing and Bukshi Sudanund came on board my boat, and I took them to Mr. Vansittart, who received them with great kindness. I think he had mentioned their coming to the General over night, for he went then to him in his pinnace, telling me to follow with them. The General, who was bound to follow Mr. Vansittart's advice, and, in spite of all the evil reports and insinuations, sent for and treated them in a friendly way,

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ordering that Chet Sing should come to Ghazeepoor to meet him; at the same time telling Mr. Vansittart to go to Ghazeepoor, and restore Chet Sing's confidence, and bring him himself to be presented.

Soojan Sing returned to his brother in high delight, and rejoiced him with the good news he carried, and the next day Chet Sing, and all his attendants, came to Ghazeepoor to await the arrival of the General. Maulvi Ali-ood-deen Kebra and his gang, finding their bazar dull on account of the success of Soojan Sing, devised a new scheme, and persuaded Chet Sing that the General would not come to Ghazeepoor, but to Zamaniah; therefore his best plan would be to cross the river to the latter place, and to tell his friends that there they would obtain presentation. The Rajah, who had no sense, putting the orders of the General and the wishes of Mr. Vansittart aside, took the advice of these cheats, and went over to Zamaniah. I heard of this and told Mr. Vansittart, who said that the General had fixed Ghazeepoor as the place where he would receive Chet Sing, and he would reach there the next day; the Rajah therefore should return to Ghazeepoor and await his (Mr. Vansittart's) coming, in order that on the General's approach he might go to the Rajah's camp and conduct him thence to the General's presence; and the Rajah's vakeel, who was with me, was thus informed.

The Rajah, however, paid no attention to this message; and some of the English gentlemen who were opposed to the General becoming reconciled to the Rajah, went out driving as if for amusement, and went to the Rajah, who, being depressed and anxious, looked upon their coming as a piece of great good fortune. He went to meet them, and they assured him his coming to Zamaniah was the proper thing to do. He, then, seeing them interested in his case, said that the next day had been fixed for his reception; that an eclipse would take place in the evening, and the whole day would be therefore inauspicious; that, if the General wouldr eceive him that night, he could leave next morning, and reach Benares in time to bathe during the eclipse and perform his devotions. The Englishmen, who desired his ruin, replied, "We are now returning. Do you just after nightfall, which is our leisure time, come with all your followers, and in state, on boats to where the General is, when we will introduce

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you to him, and obtain permission for you to go as you wish." The Rajah, was completely deceived, and neglected all Mr. Vansittart's orders; and the Englishmen, seeing him quite ready to do as they told him, returned at full speed to dine with the General. Mr. Vansittart, after dinner, went on board his own boat, and having ordered the daroga to start for Ghazeepoor, went to sleep.

Soon after nightfall, forty or fifty boats filled with armed men and hundreds of horsemen fully equipped, appeared coming from a distance towards the General's halting-place; his men, not knowing who the comers were at this time of the night, set them down as dacoits, and aroused the General. It so happened that the two regiments as escort had that day fallen behind through fatigue, and the General became greatly excited at this apparent treachery. He ordered the sepoys on guard on the boats, and the Frenchmen, in all over 200 men, to stand to their arms, and sent a chobdar to bring Mr. Vansittart, and the whole force prepared for battle. Mr. Vansittart and I at this moment arrived, and the General began to reproach him for this action of Chet Sing's. Mr. Vansittart looked at me, asking what was the matter. I replied, "The want of courage and faintheartedness of Chet Sing are known in all quarters: he flies even from the shadow of a man: how then, or whence, has he derived courage to act in this way? he dares not even to argue with the lowest servant of the English, how then has he become so brave? I believe he has been deceived by his enemies into thus acting. This is that Chet Sing who yesterday was ready to fly at the rumour of the approach of the English; how is it that to-day he is anxious for battle and plunder? I am ready to guarantee that it is without the slightest desire of fighting that he is now coming. Goodness only knows what has come over him, to cause his approach in this manner. When the shouts of the sepoys, and the noise of the preparation for battle, reached the ears of the Rajah's followers, they became greatly alarmed, and stopped their advance; and when Chet Sing learned of the General's anger, he sent Bukshi Sudanund to me to explain matters. At the time I was with the General, and thither Sudanund came. He was in such a fright that he trembled and shook as if he had ague; he could not speak, and at last fell to the ground. After a

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little he became composed, and on questioning, mentioned the recommendations of the Englishmen as the cause of the affair. My words thus proved true, and the alarm ceased. The General postponed the consideration of the proper punishment for the conduct of the Englishmen for the time, and ordered the Rajah to return to his camp for the night, and to come next day attended by only two unarmed servants to Ghazipur. Chet Sing accordingly returned, greatly ashamed of his conduct.

Next morning Mr. Vansittart sent a confidential messenger to him. He came attended by two servants, and was introduced to the General, who, in deference to Mr. Vansittart, seated him by his side, and permitted him to return at once to Benares as he desired.

Sir Eyre Coote visits the Chihl Satun of Abdoollah; is delighted with it; and orders its repair by the Foujdar of Ghazipur.

THE Chihl Satun of Abdoollah, one of the chief works of art of this time, became the resort of the English on their arrival. The officials of Rajah Chet Sing had fitted it up with everything suitable to the occasion; and the General, with all his principal officers, came to see the delights of this copy of heaven. He enquired if there was any one who could tell him who the builder was, when it was built, and what it cost. Mr. Vansittart sent for me, and informed me of the General's wishes. I cleared my throat, and spoke as follows:—

"The builder of this place is Sheikh Abdoollah, an inhabitant of Muhammadabad. He was born to good fortune, and for a length of time served the Nazims of Patna with reputation and honour. Near that place he founded the town of Kasimabad, called after his grandfather, Sheikh Kasim, and in it erected buildings of brick and stone. For some reason or other he left the service of the Nazim of Patna, and presented himself to Nawab Saadat Khan. He was taken into favour by Nawab Safdar Jang. In 1146 Hijree he sent Rs. 30,000 to his agent, Shams-ool-haq, in Ghazipur, for the purpose of building a house on the river-side. Shams-ool-haq was a sagacious and clever man, and retaining Rs. 10,000 for procuring the materials for the building, he sent

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Rs. 20,000 into Bengal, for the purchase of silk, which he sold at double the cost price in Benares; and by several ventures of the sort realized Rs. 3,20,000, with which in three years time he completed the building. It is related, that, when Sheikh Abdoollah came to Ghazipur, Shams-ool-haq returned to him the Rs. 30,000 he had made profit out of his traffic over and above the cost of the building.

When Sheikh Abdoollah died, his son, Nawab Fazl Ali Khan, kept up the building in perfect repair. After his expulsion, Rajah Bulwunt Sing, through enmity and jealousy of him, resolved to destroy the place, and took away to Ramnuggur whatever timber and stone he could; from which time this princely mansion has become the home of owls and jackals. The English gentlemen grieved much at what they had heard and seen, and seeing them thus lamenting, I quoted two verses—

"Az naqsh o nigar dare dewar shikusta,
Asar perdidast sarra dida ajam ra.

Har kuja aftada bini kishtdar wirana e,
Hast fardi dufturi ahwal sahib khana e."

The General asked Mr. Vansittart the meaning of these lines; he at once translated them into English verses, and showed them to him. The perusal of them caused tears to come into his eyes, and he highly praised my aptness in quotation, and Mr. Vansittart's facility in translation. Each one of the gentlemen accompanying the General then asked me for a copy of the lines in Persian, under which they wrote Mr. Vansittart's translation in English.

The General also gave stringent and repeated orders to the amil of Ghazeepoor and officials of the Rajah to put the place in proper repair. As the course of the river between Benares and Ghazeepoor is very tortuous, and the current strong, the General and his suite determined to proceed to the former place by land. None of the English officers had brought horses for conveying their luggage; and their followers, incited by the enemies of the Rajah, applied to his officials for a number of horses quite beyond bounds. The Rajah's men came to me in great perplexity, and I took them to the General, and told him the state of affairs. He said, that all the heavy luggage was to be taken by the boats, but that conveyance was

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necessary for the light, which required to be taken with them by land; that horses should be hired from merchants by the Rajah's people, and coolies employed, all expenses being paid by the English; further, that every one requiring carriage for his luggage was to apply to me, and I was to procure it from the Rajah's people: and so this disturbance was settled, and ample supplies of horses and coolies afforded.

The General accordingly departed with his followers, and marched pleasurely to Benares, amusing themselves by shooting on the road. At Benares they alighted at Doorga Khund, opposite Ramnuggur, and there the Rajah took his leave of the General, returning to Ramnuggur, whence he sent all sorts of valuable presents to him. Next day the Rajah came to invite the General to visit Ramnuggur, which he consented to do.

The following day the Rajah's officials waited upon the General for the fulfilment of his promise; but some of the English gentlemen who were opposed to the General persuaded his mistress to break his promises. The Rajah hearing of this became much disturbed, and came to my lodgings, and took me with him to Mr. Vansittart, to whom he complained of the slight and indignity put upon him. Mr. Vansittart, on ascertaining that the General had changed his mind, became greatly vexed, and spoke sharply to him.

The General at last, to please Mr. Vansittart, renewed his promise, and Mr. Vansittart ordered me to tell the Rajah from the General that he would visit him, and further, that a suitable house should be prepared for him, and such arrangements made that no crowding or disturbance should occur, and on the following morning the General, his Bibi, and suit, would reach Ramnuggur. Accordingly, shortly after nightfall I reached the fort at Ramnuggur, and was met by Chet Sing, who brought me in-doors with every mark of respect and courtesy. He ordered Gholam Hussen to have suitable refreshments prepared, and presented me with Rs. 15,000 and ten trays of cloths of various sorts. These gifts I declined to receive, saying that I had vowed not to take any presents from any one in such cases as these; that I received pay from Government, and Mr. Vansittart also supplied me with ample funds, and therefore I was under no necessity to take *douceurs*.

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My brother, Maulvi Amir-ullah, who accompanied me, advised me to take the presents, as they were given solely because the Rajah thought he could gain his own ends through keeping me in good humour, but that so soon as he should perceive that nothing was to be got by my means, he would not even recognize me. I replied, that what he said was perfectly true, but that I saw no good reason to pollute myself by taking bribes.

In fine, when the Rajah persisted in his offers, and would not be refused, I said to him, "As you insist on repaying me for my services whether I will or not, I have two brothers unemployed; permit them to attend upon you, and release to me the maafee villages worth Rs. 2,000 which you have resumed, and for which your father and you yourself for a length of time paid me that sum yearly until the four Sircars came into the possession of the English.

The Rajah replied, "This is a very small matter. I grant it to you in addition to what I now give you." I answered, "The villages are quite sufficient for my wants;" and so I passed the night there. Meanwhile disagreements had arisen between some of the English gentlemen and the General. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Graham opposed his going to visit the Rajah, while Mr. Vansittart desired by any means that he should go; and at length his object was attained and his opponents worsted. The General was ready to start, when, unexpectedly, on this very night Mr. Furlong and Major Hawk arrived at Benares from Lucknow, and formed Mr. Johnson's party. A fierce altercation again arose; but at length the visit was agreed upon. Then the General's Bibi declared she was indisposed, and would not stir. The enemies of the Rajah now took an opportunity of hinting to the General of the opening there was for extracting money from the Rajah, and also perhaps for the sake of annoying Mr. Vansittart. At any rate, goodness knows whether the General thought of it himself, or was instigated to it by the Rajah's enemies, that now was the time to demand payment of the one lakh of rupees promised to Major Monro by Bulwunt Sing in the time of Governor Cartier.

I was sitting in the Rajah's presence, engaged in the preparation for the General's coming, when Maulvi Ali-ood-deen appeared,

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bringing the following message from the General:—That the General was prepared to visit the Rajah; but on the occasion of Governor Cartier's coming to Benares, and when the Nawab Wazeer desired to expel the Rajah's father, Major Monro interceded with the Governor; and the Rajah's father, on condition of being upheld in possession of his domains, and of being forgiven for his misconduct, agreed to give Major Monro one lakh of rupees; that the Rajah's father obtained what he desired, and promised payment, but Major Monro had meanwhile left Calcutta for Madras; that, on the General's going to Madras, Major Monro had asked him to get the money for him, and, on being paid, the General would then consent to come to Ramnuggur.

The Rajah, on hearing of this demand, was quite confounded, and declared that neither from his father or from any of his officials had he ever heard of such a promise; that if there was any written bond of his father, it should be shown him, or any letter from Major Monro to him asking for payment; that unless written proof was forthcoming for the justice of the claim, he would not allow it. The Maulvi then departed; and after a short space of time the General and Mr. Graham in one boat, and Mr. Vansittart with the other English gentlemen in another, crossed the river, and arrived at Ramnuggur. The Rajah went to meet them, and I took the opportunity of informing Mr. Vansittart of the demand which had just been made upon the Rajah. Mr Vansittart said it was merely a device to annoy the Rajah and extract money from him; that Major Monro had never made any such claim; that the Rajah was not to consent to it; and that no blame would be laid on him for so doing by the Governor-General. Meanwhile, the General and Mr. Graham, and other gentlemen, had entered Gunga Muhal, the most splendid of the Rajah's mansions, and were welcomed by singing and dancing. To this assembly came Maulvi Ali-ood-deen, and informed Mr. Graham of the Rajah's refusal to accede to the demand of a lakh made on him. Mr. Graham told this to the General, who thereupon rose from the assembly in great anger.

The Rajah presented the General with twenty-one trays of cloths, one tray of jewels, ten horses, and one elephant, all of which his followers took; and to each of the other gentlemen four trays of cloths and one thousand rupees were sent.

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Maulvi Aliood-deen; Baboo Dyachund, Dewan tof he General; Moortuza Koolly Khan, Mr. Johnson's factotum; and Munshi Sookhput, Mr. Furlong's Munshi, having ascertained their patrons' wishes, came to an agreement among themselves, and talked over the Rajah and his counsellors, persuading them that it would be a most unfortunate thing for them if the General went away displeased and dissatisfied.

The Rajah, overlooking all that Mr. Vansittart had done for him, fell completely into their hands; and they, seeing him overcome with doubts and suspicions, engaged on the part of their employers to make the General waive his claim, provided something was given in consideration of their services; while at the same time each of them extracted as much as he could for himself from the Rajah. I heard from Bukshi Sudanund, that in this affair Baboo Dyachund obtained Rs. 15,000, Moortuza Koolly Khan Rs. 5.000, and Munshi Sookhput Rs. 5,000; the last named also obtained a bond, in the name of his master, for Rs. 30,000, on condition of the General withdrawing his claim on behalf of Major Monro and accepting one lakh for himself.

The Rajah was completely befooled by these men, and gave credence to all they said; he looked coldly on me, and received my brother, whom I had sent for, with but scanty courtesy; and, further, altogether overlooked his promise to release my maafee villages. My brother Maulvi Amir-ullah Khan was greatly angered at this conduct of the Rajah, and told me how he had warned me but two days ago of what had now happened, and of the way I would be treated by the Rajah. I was greatly chagrined and very angry. I went out upon a balcony somewhat apart and private, and there, upon a bed, I found the Rajah. I sat down upon the bed. He arose, much ashamed, and began to abuse Mr. Vansittart. I asked him if Mr. Vansittart had either taken any money from him, or any bond for payment of money. He answered that Mr. Vansittart had taken nothing whatever, not even the presents made on arrival. I said, "I have become disgraced and a laughing-stock among the English on account of my friendship for you, and how have you behaved in return?" He replied, "It was your own fault if you did not

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take presents; now you have no influence, and all power has passed into other hands." Bukshi Sudanund here put in a word, and said that the General, in point of fact, looked upon Mr. Vansittart as a mere boy, and paid no attention to what he said. I replied, that Mr. Vansittart was such a boy as to be excelled in wisdom by few old men, and that without him no business of the General, or even of the Council, was carried on, or would be carried on; that they in their folly believed all that their enemies said; that I was now departing, and released myself from all responsibility about his affairs; and it remained to be seen how his friends on the other side would keep him out of his troubles.

By chance one of the clique told his master of their little plans, and urged that the General should be persuaded to forego his claim. The General, however, would not, and marched from Benares to Chunar the next day.

I duly informed Mr. Vansittart of all that had occurred at Ramnuggur; and he was enraged at the Rajah's double-dealing. He said it was out of the question the Rajah thinking he could effect his object without applying to him; that his brother was then with the General, and he would reprimand him. Soojan Sing and Bukshi Sudanund, who had gone to Chunar, relying on the promises of their enemies that the General would forego his claim, now received from them a plain answer that the General would do nothing of the sort. Thoroughly ashamed and almost hopeless, they came to Mr. Vansittart, who would not receive them; then they tried to gain accest so the General through Baboo Dya Chund, but he would have nothing to say to them. The Rajah, who just then came to Chunar and heard all this, was greatly perplexed, and, seeing his plans had all failed, sent Soojan Sing to me with a written grant of a payment as heretofore of Rs. 2,000 a year from Mirzapur. I tore up the paper, and told him I could and would do nothing for him. The Rajah at last consented to pay the General the one lakh, as he found he was not to be put off from his demand: so he paid and asked for the receipt, which the General refused to give. On the whole, therefore, the Rajah had spent, though his own folly, more than two lakhs of rupees in place of one, did not get his receipt, and had, after all, displeased the General.

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The next day, the General, hearing of the arrival of the Nawab Wazeer at Allahabad, marched thither, and the Rajah, ashamed and disheartened, returned to Ramnuggur. At his departure, Mr. Furlong desired him to depute a vakeel, to whom, on his arrival at Lucknow, the receipt and a purwannah expressing the General's satisfaction, would be given. Accordingly, the Rajah sent Sheikh Ezed Buksh to Lucknow; but after his arrival at Lucknow, Mr. Furlong was so much occupied with other important matters of Government that he quite forgot his promise to the Rajah. For four or five months the vakeel attended Mr. Furlong's leisure, and through Munshi Sookhput reminded him of his promise, to which, however, he paid no attention. At last he came to me in despair, bitterly reproaching the folly and ignorance of his master. He also addressed a letter to Mr. Vansittart, to the effect that he now fully recognized the wisdom of his advice, and that, notwithstanding all the money that had been wasted, no good result had accrued. I then took him to Mr. Vansittart, considering that it would be pushing retaliation too far not to take pity on his state, and told Mr. Vansittart his story. Mr. Vansittart wisely and generously overlooking his master's double-dealing, but remarking that an immense sum of money had been spent, and withal the General was displeased, went to the General, and taking all the letters of the Rajah which had up to this time remained on his table unnoticed and unanswered, explained their contents in the most favourable way to the General, and obtained a satisfactory purwannah from him, which he handed to me. I sent for Sheikh Ezed Buksh, and gave him the purwannah and a letter from Mr. Vansittart, saying to him, "this is the retaliation I make for all the slights and insults suffered at your hands. You now can see what I could do for you."

Narrative of events of the year 1194 *Hijree: Departure of Sir Eyre Coote from Benares for Madras, in consequence of the war with Hyder Ali. Meeting and reconciliation with Chet Sing at Jounpoor.*

During this year a sort of peace was patched up between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis; and the Governor-General, to please the latter, dismissed Mr. Graham from his post as Suzawal at

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Benares, appointing Mr. Frances Fowke in his place. Mr. Fowke had been formerly friendly with Rajah Chet Sing, and consequently the bazar of his enemies and backbiters grew very dull. Ali-ood-deen had gone to Calcutta with Mr. Graham, and the Rajah began to hold up his head and recover his spirits. Zein-ool-abdeen and the other hangers-on of the English, who had been paid to exalt their masters' influence and power, found their occupation gone, and could get nothing out of the Rajah. Maulvi Zein-ool-abdeen, exaggerating everything a thousandfold, wrote of these things to Mr. Graham in Calcutta. In the meanwhile, letters from Calcutta informed the General that Hyder Ali Naib, in conjunction with the people of the Deccan, had invaded the English territories in Madras; that Colonel Monro had been twice defeated in repelling the invasion, and was unable to resist further; also that Jumnajee, son of Raghojee, Rajah of Nagpoor, had marched to the banks of the Ganges on the borders of his territories with a large army, and by counsel of the Chiefs of Poonah meditated evil designs.

The General, becoming alarmed at this state of affairs, determined to proceed to Calcutta by boat down the Goomtee, although it was in the height of the rainy season.

At Sultanpoor, Mr. Vansittart called me, and said, "If you really desire that the General should go away reconciled to Chet Sing, take a light boat now and travel as fast as you can; find Chet Sing wherever he may be. He relies upon the friendliness of Mr. Fowke; tell him that a fresh quarrel has broken out between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis, and that Mr. Markham is to replace Mr. Fowke, and his little finger will be thicker than the thigh of Mr. Graham in his conduct towards the Rajah. Thousands of men depend upon him for support, I therefore feel compassion for him. It is possible I may be able to help him in the Council at Calcutta, and secure him from the severities of the new Suzawul; and I have thought of a plan for doing so." I praised Mr. Vansittart's generosity, and enquired what the plan was. He answered, "The severity of the Suzawal's arises from several causes: *first*, the great delay in payment of the instalments of revenue. As to this I will pay the amounts myself upon the appointed date in Calcutta, on condition that I be reimbursed within ten or twenty

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days. Next regarding the payment of five lakhs for the maintenance of two regiments of sepoys, about which the Rajah is shuffling and prevaricating, thereby giving great offence to the Governor-General; until the war in the Deccan is brought to a close, he must pay this money without any further quibbling; he can with ease raise it from his officials, who will make no excuses; and I will guarantee that, so soon as the war is ended, the Council will at once forego the demand. The third cause is this, the immense sums the Rajah spends in building mansions and in luxurious living and pleasure. Englishmen who come from their country here to make money, seeing this profusion, become envious of it, and exaggerate it a hundredfold to the Governor-General. It ought therefore to cease. The fourth cause is, the want of a good vakeel in Calcutta, a gentleman who could freely communicate with the Governor-General, and so interest him in his master's behalf. For this post there is no one more suitable them Soojan Sing. The Rajah should, therefore, send him with a proper suite with me, that I may introduce him to the Governor-General, and commend him to his favourable notice. I do all this only for your sake, that the Rajah may know that it is through you that his wishes will be obtained, and may feel proportionately grateful to you, and so raise you in the esteem of your kinsmen and connections." I embarked on board the boat, and travelling day and night reached Jounpoor, where I was met by Rajah Birchraj, who had been sent by Rajah Chet Sing. When he heard of my coming, Birchraj brought me a present of 300 rupees and some necessary refreshments, meeting me in the outstreets of Jounpoor. In the evening he accompanied me to Chet Sing, to whom I related the news from Calcutta. He was greatly alarmed at it, and very thankful for the kindness of Mr. Vansittart. He at once deputed Rajah Birchraj to accompany me back to Mr. Vansittart, directing him to tender his best thanks to him for his consideration, and inform him of his full consent to all his proposals. I and Rajah Birchraj then went on board the boat, and returned. We met Mr. Vansittart fourteen miles up the river; he received Rajah Birchraj, who was loud in his praises of his generosity.

On the arrival of the General at Jounpoor, Mr. Vansittart took him the same night to Chet Sing's tents; and the General, willing

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to please Mr. Vansittart, became reconciled to the Rajah, and gave him a receipt for the lakh of rupees for Major Monro.

The next day I took Mr. Vansittart to the Rajah, that he might fully explain to him the course he was to follow. At the time of leaving, the Rajah presented seven trays of cloths, 15,000 rupees, and a horse, and also drew up a bond agreeing to pay Mr. Vansittart two and a half lakhs a year on condition of his affairs being settled as proposed. Mr. Vansittart refused everything, saying that his father had left him a large property, and he had no desire for more; but, he added, that all he had done was solely in compliance with the wishes of the Maulvi Sahib (myself), and in return he expected the Rajah would keep me in his favour; that my family and relatives were inhabitants of his territory, and according to the reports he might hear of the Rajah's treatment of them, so he would be guided in his action in regard to the Rajah's affairs. Saying this he retired. Now see the return made by the Rajah for all these services. The next time mention was made regarding the release of my maafee villages, the Rajah flatly refused to give them up, saying he would give thirty thousand rupees cash down rather than part with thirty rupees worth of land. The following day we marched from Jounpoor, the Rajah accompanying us as far as Haveli Sydpur, whence he returned home well pleased at what had happened.

I travelled with Mr. Vansittart and the General towards Calcutta, and on our arrival at Moorshedabad we heard that the quarrel between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis had resulted in a duel. The gentlemen came on the ground attended by their friends. Mr. Francis's bullet passed the right side of the Governor-General without killing him; but Mr. Francis fell wounded in the body by his opponent's bullet.

The General, greatly disturbed by the news, started for Calcutta at once by dâk. On his arrival I heard that he with Major Dow and Colonel——had effected a reconciliation between the two gentlemen, and took Mr. Francis to the Council. After consultation, the Council arrived at the determination to despatch the General and all the troops which could be spared to Madras by sea, to subdue Hyder Ali Khan by any or every means in his power. Accordingly, the General made his preparations for the campaign, and leaving his Bibi

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in Bagh Goorhattee, sailed for Madras with four regiments of sepoys in the month of Ramzan 1194 Hijree.

The Governor-General would not allow Mr. Vansittart to go with the General, but appointed Mr. Graham to be interpreter; with him went Azhar Ali Khan in the same position as that which I had held under Mr. Vansittart.

Mr. Vansittart, after some days, was posted to the Salt Department, and offered me the place of darogah; but as the climate of Calcutta did not suit me, I excused myself. When he understood that I wished to return up-country, he procured the orders of the Council for the release of my maafee villages, and sent them to Rajah Chet Sing.

About this time Mr. Middleton was quitting Calcutta for Lucknow, to relieve Mr. Furlong; and, without any request of mine, Mr. Vansittart went and recommended me to him. The following day he took me with him to Mr. Middleton, and interested him in my favour, at the same time commending me particularly to the favor of the Nawab Wazeer. I travelled quickly from Calcutta to Benares, in the month Zeehujjuh of this year. Rajah Chet Sing, informed of the kindness shown me by the Governor-General by his vakeel's letters, and having received the orders of Council for the release of my villages, was much ashamed; and learning of my connection with Mr. Middleton, received me with the greatest respect, and declared his intention of sending my brother Amir-ullah with Soojan Sing to Calcutta; and as my maafee villages had become part of his mother's jaghir, he with much entreaty got her to relinquish them, and made them over to my servants. I then entrusted my dear brother to his care, and went on to Lucknow with Mr. Middleton, where I took charge of his office. Mr. Johnson, who had come from Calcutta with Mr. Middleton, and was his deputy, was not pleased at the favour shown me on account of my previous connection with Mr. Vansittart, and goodness knows what he told Mr. Middleton; but he the next day took me apart, and said it was the usual custom in Lucknow for the Government mookhtar to stand in his presence, and that in future, when transacting any business before him, I was to stand. I replied that the dignity of my position was from him, while no act of mine could increase his dignity; that although I was fakirzaddah, yet my father and

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grandfather had appeared before kings and princes, and had been treated with the utmost respect; that I was a man of some learning, and respect was everywhere paid to that; that since I had had any connection with the English such a request had never been made; that he himself had seen in what manner the Governor-General had received me; that in the previous year I had sat on equal terms in the presence of Sir Eyre Coote and the other English gentlemen; that when in attendance at the court of the Nawab Wazeer, where it was not permitted to any one, either of his own subjects or of the English, to sit in his presence, I had usually sat down on the ground; that I would not now consent to any other arrangement in Lucknow; and that as I perceived it was displeasing to Mr. Johnson my remaining in his service, I begged to retire from it. About this time, Mr. Bristow, who had come from England to Calcutta, being appointed to his former position as mediator at the court of the Nawab, contrary to the wish of the Governor-General, arrived in Lucknow, and hearing of my case, sent for me, and behaved most generously.

In the meanwhile, repeated letters from Mr. Vansittart reached me, complaining that the Rajah with great shortsightedness had not yet sent his brother to Calcutta; that from the complaints of the Suzawal of Benares the Governor-General had become convinced of his obstinacy and refractoriness; and that in consequence his affairs were in a bad way, and that I was to inform him of this. I at once sent these letters to Chet Sing, who, not having confidence in his brother Soojan Sing, selected Bukshi Sudanund to go to Calcutta. I remained two months in Lucknow, waiting on Mr. John Bristow; but seeing at last that he could do nothing for me, I left for Calcutta.

Arrival of Mr. Markham to replace Mr. Fowke at Benares; he harasses the Rajah.

Mr. Markham, who was subordinate to Mr. Graham when the latter was Suzawal of Benares, and had been from that time unfriendly towards the Rajah, was now appointed Suzawal by the Governor-General. Ali-ood-deen Kebra, who had gone to Calcutta with Mr. Graham, and kept up a close intimacy with him, also returned

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to Benares with Mr. Markham, and determined to take revenge upon the Rajah for his treatment of Zein-ool-abdeen. He used every means to insult and annoy him, and so worked upon Mr. Markham, that the latter sent a message to the Rajah, that, as the cavalry at Futtehgurh were about to march to Madras under Colonel Bass, he was to replace them by 2,000 Hindustani sowars under a competent officer, to be stationed at Futtehgurh and Anupshahur until the return of the cavalry ; or he was to undertake the cost of 1,000 sowars, to be under the command of the colonel at Futtehgurh, to whom the amount of their pay was to be remitted monthly. The Rajah, who thought the payment of five lakhs for two regiments of sepoys utterly beyond his power, looked upon this order as his death-warrant. He spent enormous sums in making presents to Mr. Markham and Ali-ood-deen, and at last obtained leave to send Sudanund Bukshi to Calcutta.

Sudanund accordingly started, loaded with presents; but on arrival most foolishly relied upon Mr. Fowke for an introduction to the Governor-General, and for the realization of his wishes. Now Mr. Fowke was a friend of Mr. Francis, and was personally unknown to the Governor-General, who was displeased at such steps being taken. If Sudanund had gone to Mr. Vansittart, who possessed great influence with the Governor-General, it is probable the Rajah's affairs would have been settled as he desired.

At length with great difficulty Sudanund obtained an introduction; but the next day, on presenting himself, he was told to go ; that, when there was leisure, Rajah Chet Sing's affairs would be enquired into, and the result written to Mr. Markham.

When Mr. Markham heard of these proceedings, and of the Rajah's failure to obtain the ear of the Governor-General, he became more harsh than ever ; and, excited by Maulvi Ali-ood-deen, wrote frequent letters to the Governor-General, that, as the Government was under heavy expenses on account of the war in the Deccan with Hyder Ally, and in subsidizing the Nagpore Chiefs, and while the whole country was ruined, Rajah Chet Sing, whose father had left him crores of rupees in Latifpoor and Bijyegurh, was spending them on luxuries and pleasure ; his territories also produced him an income of treble the amount paid as revenue; if therefore some pressure were-

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put upon him, the whole cost of the war might be extracted from him. The Governor-General, who was in great straits for money to carry on the war, approved of Mr. Markham's suggestions.

Narrative of events of the year 1195 *Hijree*: *The Governor-General leaves Calcutta for the Western Provinces, to arrange matters for the war in the Deccan, and to chastise Rajah Chet Sing.*

About this time, the Governor-General, being dissatisfied with the conduct of Hyder Beg Khan, Naib Wazeer, determined to visit the Western Provinces ostensibly for the purpose of setting this matter straight; and in the month of Rujjab of this year, accompanied by Mr. David Anderson, his brother Mr. James Anderson, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Soloman (Salmon?), Mr. Colebrook, and others, embarked on board boats for the journey. With them went Mr. ———, Judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, the Governor-General's wife, and other ladies, and hundreds of gentlemen, all anxious for the tour, and to see the country.

Although it had been fixed that Mr. Vansittart was to accompany the Governor-General, the arrangements of the Salt Department not being completed, he was obliged to remain behind in Calcutta. The Governor-General also took with him from Calcutta Meer Sooleeman Khan, Meer Kazim Khan, and Ali Ibrahim Khan, who was out of employment at Moorshedabad in consequence of falling under the suspicions of Nawab Muzuffur Jung. Mr. Vansittart at this time wrote me a private letter, giving me some hints about the Rajah, and telling me to meet the Governor-General before he should have reached Benares.

I accordingly came to Ramnuggur from Lucknow, and visited the Rajah, and warned him about his shuffling and dilatory conduct. Some of his advisers said to him then, "We do not fear the displeasure of the Governor-General; he cannot turn you out of your territories; your title is derived from England; and you have a letter from Mr. Francis." To that effect, I replied, "You are talking nonsense. Mr. Francis is not more powerful than the Governor-General. What rank are you that a man, master of the Soubas of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and superior of the Nawab Wazeer, invested with absolute

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power, could not as it pleases him destroy such a Rajah as you?" The Rajah answered, that he had become friends with Mr. Markham; that this year no demand had been made for the five lakhs, and he had obtained a receipt in full for his revenue and khilut; that he was sending Jugurdeo Sing with all his most trustworthy servants along with Mr. Markham to meet the Governor-General, and as far as in him lay he would act faultlessly. Furthermore, if the Governor-General wishes to take the country, he was ready to give it up: what he may desire to-morrow, to-day even shall be given.

Hearing all this absurdity, I plainly saw he was rushing to his ruin, so got up and left the place; and, taking my brother Amir-ullah, proceeded to Patna, to meet the Governor-General, while Mr. Markham went to Monghyr, and Jugurdeo Sing to Patna, for the same purpose.

The Governor-General remained three days at Patna, for the purpose of adjusting the long-standing quarrel between Rajah Kullian Sing and Rajah Khyalee Ram; and having left Mr. David Anderson to act as arbitrator, proceeded on his journey. He ordered me also to remain in Patna, on account of my former acquaintance and friendship with Mr. Anderson.

On the fourth day, the Governor-General and his party reached Buxar, having been delayed by contrary winds; and then Rajah Chet Sing, who had been awaiting his arrival, was introduced by Mr. Markham. On this occasion, the Governor-General was most friendly: he rose and saluted the Rajah, and bade him be seated, asking him kindly about his affairs, and observed that the Rajah had grown very thin. The Rajah, well pleased at his reception, replied that in these troublesome times he only lived in the hope of enjoying the Governor-General's favour. The Governor-General told him not to fear, that Providence would order all things for the best.

After the Rajah had taken his leave, God knows what Mr. Markham and Ali-ood-deen told the Governor-General; but in the evening, when the Rajah's servants appeared bearing presents, he ordered them to be returned, and proceeded on from Buxar the next day.

On the way, Chet Sing, finding the Governor-General's pinnace unattended, went on board, and, as it happened, Kantoo Baboo, Dewan

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a friend of his, was on board, and on the Rajah's going inside, came out and shut the door behind him. The Rajah advanced to the Governor-General, and taking off his turban placed it at his feet, saying, "If I be deserving of death, kill me now with your own hands; if I be deserving of imprisonment, order me now to be put in irons and confined; if I be worthy of honour, now with your own hands replace my turban on my head: my lands and wealth and all that I have, you are their master; if you desire my wealth, it is yours; if you wish for my lands, take them; only dismiss from your mind the suspicions excited by enemies whose only desire is my ruin."

To this the Governor-General, whose ears that very day had been filled with accusations, paid no attention. The Rajah stood for a moment before him uncovered, and the Governor-General, turning his head slightly, said, "Once I have been deceived by you, and now can place no faith in your assertions. What your conduct towards the Company has been, is notorious: when I reach Benares steps shall be taken in regard to it."

The Rajah's eyes filled with tears; and overwhelmed with grief he took up his turban, and went to his own boat.

Arrival of the Governor-General at Benares. Chet Sing prevented from paying his respects to him. Misfortunes which resulted therefrom.

On the 26th of the month Shaban 1195 Hijree, the Governor-General and all his suite arrived at Benares, and alighted at Bagh Madho Dass. Under advice of Mr. Markham, Baboo Ousan Sing, and other enemies of the Rajah, were sent for, and admitted to the Governor-General's councils.

Rajah Chet Sing, with the desire of visiting the Governor-General, arrived near the Bagh; when, instigated by Ousan Sing and Alioood-deen Kebra, the Governor-General sent a chobdar to tell him that he had no wish to see him, to return to Ramnuggur, and to wait there until he was sent for.

The Rajah felt deeply wounded at being thus turned from the very door of the Governor-General, without being allowed an interview,

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and at seeing his bitter enemies allowed free intercourse with him. He sent for Ali-ood-deen Kebra, and asked him to intercede for him, that he might be allowed to make his obeisance, if even at a distance, as if he returned without this, it would be a great misfortune to him. Ali-ood-deen gave him great hopes of his request being granted, and went into the presence of the Governor-General: there he said that the Rajah was using threats, and so still further excited the Governor-General's displeasure; and then sent out word to the Rajah by a vakeel, that the anger of the Governor-General was too great to permit of any intercession, and that the best thing he could do would be to go back to Ramnuggur.

The Rajah went away in tears, and although his people advised him to go to Ramnuggur, and take his family and property thence to Latifpoor, and there await whatever might be the will of God, he refused to do so, but remained at the Shiwala of Baboo Baijnath Sing, on the river-side.

The bazar of his enemies now became very brisk: whoever had the slightest grudge against him went to the Governor-General with loud complaints; and Ali-ood-deen privately wrote letters to all the Baboos and Amils, telling them to come without fear, and prefer their claims. He sent a message to Ranee Golab Kooar, that if she claimed the "Raj," she was to come forward and declare it, and ample revenge would be given her upon Chet Sing.

On the side of the Rajah, there was now nothing but abject entreaty; while, on the Governor-General's part, daily increasing anger and enmity, so much so that the Rajah sent for Ali-ood-deen, and told him he had then by him 50 lakhs of rupees, and that, if by any means the Governor-General's anger with him could be appeased, and his enemies dismissed, he would present the Governor-General with 45 lakhs, would give Mr. Markham two lakhs, to the other gentlemen two lakhs, and one lakh to the Maulvi himself.

The Maulvi's mouth fairly watered at such a sum of money being in his grasp, but his avarice excited him to ask for more: so he said if a crore of rupees were given to the Governor-General, five lakhs to Mr. Markham, and ten lakhs among the other gentlemen, and if the forts of Byjegurh, Latifpoor, Patita, and Suktesgurh were

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made over to the English, he could do something for him; but if not, then it was of no more use making any intercession than to knock one's head against iron. The Rajah considered for a moment, and said he would give the crore, 50 lakhs down, and the balance by instalments along with his revenue; but he declined to surrender the forts, as it would be tantamount to his expulsion, and that the Maulvi and his master would get no more if he were expelled than if he were to remain in possession. The Maulvi, when he heard this, became abusive, and went away.

The Governor-General deputes Mr. Markham to arrest Rajah Chet Sing.

On this night, which was the beginning of so many troubles and misfortunes, Baboo Ousan Sing, Ali-ood-deen Kebra, and other enemies of the Rajah, having consulted among themselves, went to the Governor-General, and represented that he now had Chet Sing in his power; and if on the morrow a little more pressure were to be put upon him, more than a crore of rupees might be extracted from him without difficulty. The Governor-General, usually wise, merciful, and dignified, fell into the snare, and ordered Mr. Markham to take a company of sepoys next morning and frighten the Rajah into compliance. Accordingly, on the 28th Shaban, early in the morning, the Rajah awaking from sleep, and yet in bed, was told by a chobdar of the arrival of Mr. Markham. The Rajah, greatly astonished, and with his dress in disorder, rose to receive him, and asked him to be seated. Mr. Markham then informed him, that it was the order of the Governor-General that he should be put under arrest for a short time. Meanwhile, the company of sepoys had entered the Baraduree, and held the entrances. The Rajah seeing that the object for which his enemies had so long striven was now accomplished, said, rising from his chair, and stretching forth his legs, "Put me in irons. What is the use of delay in so trifling a matter?" Mr. Markham took his hand, and seated him in his chair again; and taking the paper setting forth the Rajah's offences from his pocket, gave it to Zein-ool-abdeen, ordering him to read it in a loud voice. Its contents were as follows:— First, that in disobedience to the orders of the Governor-General to furnish five lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of two regiments of sepoys, he had collected the money, and applied it to the preparation of forces, and summoned his amils and zemindars to his assistance

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to make war. Second, that when the English troops under Colonel Carnac were engaged in hostilities against the Mahrattas, and were greatly distressed for money, the Rajah, in spite of the orders of the Governor-General to pay his instalments punctually to Mr. Markham, so that the Colonel might be supplied with means, delayed doing so through refractoriness, and so caused great injury to the Company's army. Third, that the Rajah delayed sending his troops to the place appointed; consequently the affair, for which they were required, fell through. Fourth, that from his misconduct the deaths of many soldiers and other men had resulted.

The Rajah arose, and said, "If this is the edictment against me, a thousand offences might be added to it; if it was the Governor-General's will, then cut off my head, and take it to him; but if it be only a plan to obtain my wealth and fortresses, take them and give me a morsel of bread for my support. If, however, my ruin is not desired, then I will give 50 lakhs to the Governor-General, and five lakhs to you, and a yearly allowance of two lakhs." Mr. Markham, hearing these words, felt pity for the Rajah, and said he regretted that such a state of things had come to pass during his tenure of office, but God's will must be done; that the best thing to be done would be to write a petition setting forth the whole case, which he would take to the Governor-General, and do his best to put matters straight again. The paper was being written, and was not yet completed, when Captain Stalker with his adjutant and two companies of sepoys entered the Shiwala; and after some conversation in English with Mr. Markham, guards were placed at the gates of the Shiwala and Baraduree, while the rest of the men remained under arms in the courtyard of the Shiwala. The guards, under orders from the Adjutant, disarmed the Rajah's followers, and placed their weapons in the charge of the sentries. Mr. Markham then with the Adjutant and Zein-ool-abdeen left the Shiwala, and went to the Governor-General with the Rajah's petition. When the news of the Rajah's arrest reached his troops and followers, they rushed in crowds around the Shiwala to rescue him; but, fearing to act without his orders, did nothing. Baboo Muniar Sing, Baboo Nunkoo Sing, his son, Baboo Ajaib Sing, and others of his kinsmen, however, drew their swords, and taking their lives in their hands forced their

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entrance into the Shiwala. The sepoys in alarm raised a shout, and a struggle between them was imminent, when Sudanund Bukshi ran, and taking their swords and shields gave them to the sepoys, and engaging himself for their good behaviour, took them inside. Mr. Markham, after leaving the Shiwala, went to the Governor-General, and told faithfully all that he had seen and heard on his visit to the Rajah, and the Governor-General's severity somewhat relaxed. He said, if the Rajah gave 70 lakhs cash down, and consented to pay an increase to his revenue of seven lakhs a year, on security of wealthy merchants, nothing more would be said of what had passed. Mr. Markham immediately wrote a note to the Rajah, that his affairs were being satisfactorily settled, and not to disquiet himself, and that he (Mr. Markham) would come immediately he had finished breakfast. On the receipt of this note, Captain Stalker told the Rajah that there was now no cause for alarm or doubt; he might therefore bathe and eat. The Rajah presented Captain Stalker with Rs. 2,000, the Adjutant with Rs. 500, and gave the sepoys Rs. 1,000 for sweetmeats, and went to bathe; after bathing he was engaged in his devotions. Meanwhile news of the assembly of the Rajah's men, and of the proceedings of the Baboos, reached the Governor-General. Mr. Markham at once sent Chetram, chobdar, to the Rajah to say, that the Governor-General was now in a good temper, but if any disturbance should take place, he would be answerable for the result. Chetram appeared before the Rajah, and said that each one of the sepoys of the Company was equal to the Governor-General; that if any of the Rajah's servants insulted or annoyed one of them, he would tie a rope to his feet and tongue, and drag him through the bazar to the Governor-General. The Rajah, stretching out his legs, replied, "Bring the rope and bind me." Baboo Muniar Sing said, "None of our men will be guilty of any misconduct towards the Governor-General's people." Chetram replied in the most insolent manner, "Chetram is speaking to Chet Sing; what fool is he who shall put in a word? If any one interferes between me and Chet Sing, I will break his head with my mace." Muniar Sing, a proud high-spirited man, bit his lips with rage at this speech, and looked towards the Rajah, who, quieting him, said it was a condition of friendship and concord that no offence should be taken at the insolence of the Governor-General's servants.

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Meanwhile, Ali-ood-deen had gone to the Governor-General, and told him that the Rajah had gained over Captain Stalker, collected all his troops, and was about escaping just as he was about to fall into the Governor-General's power. The Governor-General became angry at this, and ordered Colonel Popham to take two companies of sepoys and two guns, and overawe the Rajah's followers. Accordingly, the Colonel took an Adjutant, two companies, and two guns, and reached the western side of the Shiwala, where the burkundazes had thrown up a barricade, which they were prepared to defend.

The sepoys advanced fearlessly ; the leader of the burkundazes cried to the Adjutant, that there were three companies of sepoys inside the Shiwala, and there was room for no more. The adjutant paid no attention to this, and still advanced. The burkundazes then called out, "If you advance another step, you are all dead men." The Adjutant then ordered the guns to be fired: one was discharged, the ball from which fell inside the barricade, whence the burkundazes fired a volley, laying low the Adjutant and some sepoys ; and throwing away their guns rushed to attack the sepoys with their tulwars, giving them no chance of using their muskets, and killing and wounding numbers. When the noise of the combat increased, Captain Stalker with three subadars and six jamadars came out on the staircase of the Baraduree, and warning the sentries to keep strict guard over the Rajah, descended into the courtyard of the Shiwala, and was putting his men in order before going outside himself to quell the disturbance. Suddenly, ten or twelve men, leaders of the Rajah's troops, and five or six Baboos who were with him, snatched their weapons from the guard, and stood around him. He, having finished his "pooja," only wished for some excuse to get out of the scrape; but Chetram, chobdar, ran and seized him, calling out to the subadars and jamadars for help : they ran in with drawn swords to attack the Rajah. The Hazarees and Baboos, thinking the Rajah was about to be slain, resisted. Nunkoo Sing killed Chetram with a stroke of his tulwar, and then turned upon Zein-ool-abdeen, who, cowardly and like a fox, attempted to find shelter behind pillars and under the bed, but was slaughtered like a sheep; the Hazarees then killed or wounded seven of the subadars and jamadars.

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Captain Stalker then seeing that the two companies outside were in disorder, and the two companies inside had lost their native officers, accompanied by his Adjutant, drew his sword and with great bravery rushed towards the Rajah. His followers, however, stopped the way, and receiving the cuts of their swords on their shields, killed them both. The sepoys' cartridges were now exhausted, and they were reduced to fight with their bayonet, and the Rajah's men, seeing that they could not fire a shot, redoubled their efforts, and killed numbers of them. Whoever of the sepoys attempted to ascend the stairs was immediately slain; and when the noise of the conflict reached those outside, the doors of the Shiwala were broken open, and crowds rushed in. Of the four companies of sepoys, nearly all were killed, a few escaped wounded, a few reached the Governor-General with the tale of their defeat. Captain Stalker, also a brave officer, lost his life in this useless fight.

The Governor-General had but a very small escort with him; and on hearing this news his companions were in great trepidation. He however re-assured them, and ordered every sepoy to arm himself; and sent for the few sepoys who were guarding his boats, placing them on guard at his door with loaded muskets.

I have been informed by a trustworthy person, that at this time Baboo Muniar Sing advised the Rajah, that as by chance things had turned out as they did, that the Governor-General had no guard but a few sepoys; his advice therefore was, to seize the Governor-General and his suite, and take them all to Latifpoor, for which purpose there were nearly 4,000 men ready; that there he could put himself straight with the Governor-General, who, being in his power, would agree to any proposals made to him; after which he could convey him back again.

The Rajah was too much alarmed even to hear what was said to him, much less to reflect and consider upon it, so Sudanund Bukshi acted for him, and disapproved of the advice, saying that God only knows what would come of the affair; that as yet it would be ascribed to the troops, but if the Baboo's advice were followed, it would then be proved to have been the Rajah's doing; that it was better to get away with him to some place of safety, where plans for the future

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might be determined upon. It happened, that at the north side of the Shiwala there was a small niche near the roof of the house of a Bairagee, and with immense difficulty they got the Rajah upon this roof, and from there on to a boat, which they loosened ; and as it was the rainy season and the river very high, the current carried it straight and quickly to the Ramnuggur bank. The Rajah's followers, notwithstanding their master's cowardly flight, managed to load 25 lakhs worth of money and property on boats, and embarked. In the confusion, Mirza Bundeh Ali Khan fell into the river ; the rest escaped safely, not one even being wounded ; but, in getting the Rajah on to the roof, he got a bruise on his thigh, which was given out to be a sword-cut. At night the news of the Rajah's flight reached the Governor-General, who ordered Mr. James Anderson to take 30 or 40 sepoys, and go to the Shiwala, to bring back the wounded men and the dead bodies of Captain Stalker and his Adjutant. The dead were buried, and the wounded given into the doctor's care. The Rajah with uncovered head and bare feet, and attended by one servant, crossed the river. On the bank, his followers were awaiting him in crowds; and having mounted a horse which was brought for him, he entered the fort. After a short time spent in arming himself, he came out and got upon an elephant. His chief officers and all his army having assembled, he ordered the most trustworthy to convey his most valuable property and women to Latifpoor, while he himself with his troops went to the river-side, to see what might happen. Some English boats, which happened to be on that side, he ordered to be plundered.

At the time of leaving the fort, he sent word to Ranee Golab Koomar, to Muheepnarain, and Baboo Doorbijai Sing, to prepare to start for Latifpoor. The Ranee was no friend of Chet Sing's, and in her heart wished him evil ; and through Ali-ood-deen Kebra and Ousan Sing was in friendly communication with the Governor-General, and had arranged with Ousan Sing that he should be guardian and deputy for Muheepnarain ; she at once ordered her servants to prepare, and sent word to the Rajah that, as her equipage was at some distance, she would join him next morning. The Rajah foolishly believed her, and left her behind. After his departure, the Ranee sent a letter to the Governor-General, stating that the Rajah with all his family had fled, that she had not in any way joined him, and being without fault, she

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prayed for the Governor-General's protection, and promised obedience to any orders. The Governor-General was very pleased to obtain such allies, and at once sent for them, and on that day issued purwanahs to all the Amils, stating that Rajah Chet Sing had rebelled against his orders, slain the Company's soldiers, and fled to the hills; that he was therefore no longer to be considered Rajah, and until another descendant of Bulwunt Sing could be appointed to the government, Baboo Ousan Sing would act as Naib, and his orders were to be obeyed and revenue paid to him as heretofore: any recusant would be punished by the Company's army. On the publication of this order, the Amils were greatly perplexed as to what they should do; some of them, as, for instance, Chet Ray, Ameen, Kulb Ali Khan, Moostafa of Jounpur, whose houses were in the city, did not join the Rajah, but waited upon the Governor-General, while others, who lived at a distance from Benares, sent the purwanah to the Rajah, asking his wishes thereupon.

Journey of Mr. David Anderson from Patna to Benares.

Mr. David Anderson, who had remained at Patna to settle the dispute between Rajah Kullian Sing and Rajah Khyalee Ram, concluded the affair on the fifth day, and then started upon his journey, accompanied by me and my brother Amir-ullah; and we beguiled the way in relating stories of strange and wonderful things of various countries. When we arrived at Ghazeepoor, I asked Mr. Anderson what were the Governor-General's intentions with regard to Chet Sing. He answered, that the Rajah's enemies had so inflamed the Governor-General's anger against him, that he could not show his face in his presence, and it was most likely that before arriving at Benares the Rajah would be ruined; he added, that, if he had been present, he would have not allowed this to happen, as Mr. Vansittart's interest was great, and he could have used it.

On the 27th Shaban, we had reached Mouza Gungee (Kinkee?), when a letter reached Mr. Anderson in the evening from his brother in Benares. On reading it, he embarked on a light boat with one servant, and immediately went in to Benares. On the 28th, on Friday, at about 7 o'clock in the morning, Benares was reached. On both banks of the river were crowds of zemindars, who fired on us

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as we passed; but as a strong east wind was blowing, all sail was set, and the boats escaped being plundered. On reaching the old fort, I heard all sorts of stories of what had happened; and as I had left my relations at Ramnuggur, I was in great anxiety about them. I immediately crossed over to Ramnuggur, and found the place deserted, and not a soul from whom I could gain any information. I went to my house, and learned that the Rajah had taken my brother and my family to Latifpoor. Hearing this, I was greatly alarmed, when luckily a man came by, who said he had seen my father at the gate of the fort in Mouza Mahna, and it was likely my brother and family would be there also. I was somewhat comforted by this news, and went to the village. The commander of the fort, although an old acquaintance, thinking to ingratiate himself with the Rajah by arresting me, attempted to effect it; but by the assistance of my brothers and friends, who were ready to sacrifice their lives, we rescued my family, and brought them out of the fort. Then by toils and difficulties, tedious to relate, and painful to remember, through the darkness of night and by circuitous routes, avoiding the Rajah's men who everywhere were ready to plunder, we reached the side of the river, and having procured boats, we arrived in Benares on the 1st of Ramzan. I left my people in a secure refuge, and went to Mr. Anderson. He having heard of the murder of Zein-ool-abdeen, and being full of doubts for my safety, while unable to make any enquiries, seeing me from a distance, ran and embraced me, and was rejoiced at my escape. He then took me to the Governor-General, to whom I related all that I heard of the movements of Chet Singh.

Rajah Chet Sing, having reached Latifpoor, despatched Rambuksh Hazaree, Balkishoon Hazaree, and Nazar Ashraf, Darogah of artillery, with 300 sowars and 5,000 footmen, to garrison the fort and town of Ramnuggur.

Baboo Ousan Sing, who had been ordered to confiscate the Rajah's property there, and to arrange for the management of his estates in that part, on arriving at the bank of the river, purposing to cross over to Ramnuggur, and seeing the number of armed men on the opposite bank, returned to the Governor-General, without attempting the passage, and told him of the assembly of troops which he had seen. The Governor-General was perplexed at the news, and enquired

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of his officers what force there was at his disposal; they said there was one company of recruits and two of old soldiers in the Chunar fort; Colonel Popham had three regiments of sepoys and two companies of Frenchmen in Mirzapoor, of which force one regiment had come to Benares, and had lost two companies in the late fight, the other three companies being encamped at Mundwadih; leaving one regiment under Captain Bulwer, and one under Captain Palmer, and the two French companies under Captain Daxon (Dawkison?) still at Mirzapoor.

The Governor-General ordered the force from Mirzapoor to march by Chunar, and place itself under his immediate orders. Accordingly, the force marched on 2nd of Shaban by way of Chunar to Chota (little) Mirzapur near Ramnuggur, and there encamped, spending the night in preparations for the coming fight. On the new moon of Ramzan, the force was formed into two divisions. One under Captain Bulwer advanced on Ramnuggur from the south; the other Captains, Palmer and Doxon, comprising the French companies, sepoys, and three guns, advanced to the camp of Balkishoon Hazaree, quite ignorant of the state of defence it had been put in. The officers marched at the head of their men; and the burkandazes hid behind the walls of the camp, seeing them quite off their guard, met them with a hot fire of musketry, while stones, beams, and other missiles, were thrown from the tops of the surrounding houses. The officers, who had not expected such a reception, became confused, and could not put their men in line, or return any fire, and lost hundreds of their men in the disorder without being able to fire a shot. In the midst of the fight, Balkishoon Hazaree, with thirty sowars, charged the French companies, and killed and wounded numbers with sword and spear. Captain Palmer and Captain Doxon, who were both wounded on the ground, rose and seized the reins of Balkishoon's horse, and wounded him with their swords; but he dismounting killed them both, and also discharged his pistol at the subadar of the sepoys, who was lying wounded close by. Jung Bahadoor, nephew of Hazaree Beg, also killed a great number; and on the whole five English officers, 85 Frenchmen, and 150 sepoys were killed, and more than 100 wounded, and two guns were taken by the burkundazes, who lost two men killed, and Balkishoon Hazaree and his

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nephew wounded. Captain Bulwer, who advanced on Ramnuggur fort from the south, with one gun and three companies of sepoys, was opposed by Balkishoon Hazaree and Názar Ashruf Khan, Darogah of Artillery, with two guns and 200 matchlockmen: for half an hour an artillery fire was kept up on both sides, and Makoondee Hazaree fell wounded by a ball. The English sepoys took a barrel of powder from the Rajah's topkhana; but Sudar Sing, jemadar, alone rescued it, and made it over to his men again; in doing so, however, he was killed. In the meanwhile, Captain Bulwer had learned of the defeat and death of his brother officers; and he seeing the state of affairs, determined not to advance. A cannon ball now killed his adjutant, and his men became panic-stricken, so that he was obliged to reat to Chota Mirzapoor: on the way he was joined by the remnants of the other division, and with these and two guns he reached Chunar.

At the close of the day, Soojan Sing, the younger brother of the Rajah, Rughoouburdial, Diwan, and Gholam Hussen Khan, Risaldar, reached Ramnuggur with 200 sowars, and 3,000 burkandazes, and four companies of sepoys; and were greatly delighted at seeing the dead bodies, and hearing of the death of so many English officers, and of the escape of so few.

On the following day, Soojan Sing declared his intention of crossing the river, and seizing the Governor-General, and all those with him; and in the evening gave orders for passing the river to his troops. Gholam Hussen Khan advised him, that they did not know what force there was on the other side; nor had they the Rajah's orders for such a step; that first the Rajah's permission should be obtained, and a spy sent to Benares, to ascertain the state of affairs there; and then make the attempt, as it would be no easy matter to take the Englishmen by force.

Soojan Sing took this advice, and gave up his plan of a sudden attack, but gave orders for the preparation of scaling ladders. The Governor-General's spies told him of all these proceedings; and he saw he could not safely remain in Benares. The whole day was spent in consultation and planning, and at night he dismissed Baboo Ousan Sing, Doorbijye Sing, and others, telling them to go

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to their houses and remain prepared for fighting. I also was present at the time, and the Governor-General desired Mr. David Anderson to dismiss me. On learning his wish, I begged to be allowed to remain, as I considered it cowardly to leave him at such a time. Mr. Anderson took me to his tent, and told me that the Governor-General did not wish any Hindustanis to remain with him at that time, and had managed to dismiss from his presence Ali Ibrahim Khan, Ousan Sing, Beniram Munshi, Shanat-ullah, and other confidential persons, on some excuse or other. I replied, "Then he intends going privately to some place or other." He laughed, and said, "Don't you know that the Rajah's followers surround us on all sides, and have closed the roads, and the zemindars are in rebellion, so that we cannot get away." I answered, "I am nobody, and of no great wisdom, but except Chunar I see no other place of refuge and security. It makes little matter Shahab Khan with 100 sowars and 1,000 footmen being on the road, for he is too great a coward to fight even against ten sepoys." He replied, "Keep quiet: he has no such intentions, but means to go to dine at Nawab Saadut Ali Khan's." A moment after, a messenger came for Mr. Anderson, and the shouts of the English gentlemen's servants, "where's the spear?" "where's the gun?" "where's the pistol?" became louder and louder; and Mr. Anderson ran in, and told me that what was happening to him could not be helped, but that I was to go and look after the safety of my family. Munshi Gholam Rasool then asked what he was to do, as he was an utter stranger in Benares; and was told to accompany the English gentlemen.

The Munshi wished to take in his kamarbund some valuables entrusted to his care, but was forbidden by Mr. Anderson, who said it was no time to trouble one's-self about such things; but if the Munshi could use gun and pistol, then to take *them*, as they would likely be called into use. The Munshi, however, took whatever jewels he could, and put the rest in a box, and took up a gun in his hand and started with the rest. And about two hours after nightfall, having given out he was going to dine with Nawab Saadut Ali Khan, the Governor-General and all the English gentlemen,—that is to say, Messrs. David and James Anderson, Colebrooke, Markham, Chapman, George Grant, Thomson, and Shaw Miller, Colonel Bulwer, Major Popham,

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Major Palmer, Captain Hookham, Captain Hamilton, Mr. Scott, Mr. Solomon, and many others whose names I have forgotten,—armed each one with musket and pistols, left Bagh Madho Dass. Two guns, three companies of Major Popham's regiment, two companies from Chunar, and one company newly levied of Captain Stalker's, led the way; and although there were palkees and horses, and means of lighting the road in plenty, they were unused, and all marched on foot with one or two torches in front on the road to Allahabad. The palkees and horses accompanied the sepoys, and torch-bearers about a bow-shot ahead; and after going some distance along the Allahabad road, the guides turned off towards Chunar.

All the property and furniture in Bagh Madho Dass was abandoned without any guard, the Governor-General having ordered that no one should take anything with him.

Ousan Sing speedily heard the news of this march, and immediately informed Doorbijye Sing and Muheepnarain; and they three, collecting what men they could, overtook the Governor-General, who, not wishing to have such a number of men about him, retained only Ousan Sing, Doorbijye Sing, and Muheepnarain, with a few followers, and sent the rest on with the sepoys.

The night was very dark, and the road intersected by ravines and rivers full of water, so that the track was not easily discernible, and the seven *kos* to Chunar seemed equal to seven hundred days' journey. Mr. James Anderson told me, that during that night's march the sight of a firefly was magnified into the appearance of the lighted matches of the enemy; and if a light appeared at a distance, it was at once set down as the torches of an attacking party, and every one took shelter behind trees and in ravines. On this night I was on horseback a bow-shot in advance, so that if I should happen to discover any enemy, I could at once return and give information. In the fields, where the cultivators had placed earthen jars on poles to frighten jackals, few saw them at a distance without halting; and when I explained what they were, some laughed, and others were too disheartened to care.

Slowly and cautiously we reached opposite Ramnuggur, where a large body of men could be seen by the light of their lamps. The

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spies at once ran and told the Governor-General, that an army was approaching from Ramnuggur; one or two torches which were near him were extinguished, and the state of the whole band was a sight to be seen. The Governor-General encouraged each one to do his best, and fight to the last; and after a little other scouts were sent out, who returned and reported the lights were those from Ramnuggur fort. So after a long and wearisome circuit, to avoid Shahab Khan and his force, by morning the river bank was gained, and all embarked in the boats sent across by the Colonel in command of the fort, and arrived there safely.

A salute was fired, which sounded like welcome to the friends of the Governor-General, and struck terror into the hearts of his enemies. As none of the gentlemen had brought any clothes with them but those on his back, for three days they remained without a change; when an order was given for the cloth merchants to bring their wares to the fort, so that every one might supply himself, the cost being borne by Government.

When the spies of Soojan Sing who were in Benares informed him of the flight of the Governor-General to Chunar, he wished at once to cross the river and attack him; but Gholam Hussen Khan did not approve of the plan, and opposed it, saying that Soojan Sing's men were scattered all round Benares; that the zemindars of every village were by his permission plundering and fighting among themselves, and if the English were to be attacked by them from any quarter, they would hardly come off in safety; that he would hear on the next morning of the Governor-General being seized and plundered: there was therefore no use in starting on a wild goose chase in a dark night. Soojan Sing accordingly relinquished the idea; but next morning, when the salute from Chunar was heard, he bitterly repproached Gholam Hussen Khan.

Rambuksh, Kutwal of Ramnuggur, was sent with a company of sepoys to seize all the property abandoned at Bagh Madho Dass; and Dayaram, an enemy of Chetrai, was appointed ameen, and ordered to arrest all the friends of the English. The Rajah's men plundered the property of the English with little or no hindrance, and burnt all the papers and records they could lay their hands on.

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Chetrai and Kutb Ali Beg, and their followers, were sent bare-headed and shoeless with every indignity to Latifpoor, together with every servant of the English, who were dragged from their hiding-places, put in irons and pinioned, and their houses plundered and destroyed. Kanto Baboo, Diwan of the Governor-General, and a friend to Chet Sing, was taken from Benares to Ramnuggur. Soojan Sing then placed him upon a barebacked elephant, and sent him to the Rajah, who, however, was grateful to him for his good services, and received him with every mark of respect, and placed him in a tent.

Brant, a European merchant of standing in Benares, fearing the result of these occurrences, had taken refuge in the house of Gopal Dass Sahoo; his hiding-place was discovered, and the Rajah's men crowded about the house, collecting wood with which to burn the gate. Gopal Dass, relying on his friendship with the Rajah, opened it and Brant was immediately seized, and sent to the Rajah.

Moonshi Goorpurshad, servant of Mr. Markham, seeing this, disguised himself as a goshaeen, and went and sat at some temple, but was there discovered and arrested.

The Rajah put each prisoner in irons, and treated them with the greatest severity.

Ali Ibrahim Khan, Mir Kazim Khan, Mir Sooleeman Khan, and Shuri-ullah Khan, by the help of the Rajah Gobindram, vakeel of the Nawab Wazeer, managed to get out of the city, and took refuge with Nawab Saadut Ali Khan.

When the news of the death of Zein-ool-abdeen at the Shiwala reached Ali-ood-deen Kebra, he was highly incensed, and took an oath that he would on the morrow arrest the Rajah and his brother wheresoever he could find them, and bringing them to them to the place where Zein-ool-abdeen had been killed, there put them to death, and give their wives to his servants. After much outcry, he placed the corpse of Zein-ool-abdeen, which the Governor-General had sent him, in a coffin, and buried it at the Imambara. The next day, the Governor-General sent for, and condoled with him. Ali-ood-deen begged for a company of sepoys with which he might go to Latifpoor

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and drag the Rajah thence to the presence of the Governor-General. The Governor-General, however, said it was not advisable to take any such steps hastily; that troops were being collected from all sides, and then the rebel would be brought to account, promising, however, that the prisoner should be made over to him to suffer due punishment for what his brother had done, and that as the country was coming under English rule he would have ample authority. On the following day, the news of the defeat at Ramnuggur arrived, and the Maulvi's friends advised him that affairs were taking an unlooked for turn; that lakhs and lakhs worth of property and money was in the hands of the English officials, which it was not safe to keep in Benares; better then to load it on boats and go to Patna, or on camels and carts, and send it to Allahabad under charge of trustworthy men, but by any means to get it away from Benares. The Maulvi laughed at them, and replied, "What cowardice this is? To-morrow I shall arrest the Rajah at Latifpoor, and each one of my followers shall become master of thousands of rupees and valuables."

On the third day after nightfall came the intelligence of the flight of the Governor-General, and the Maulvi's advisers delayed not to warn him again that he had at least 500 men at his command, with these to take whatever he could and fly; that they were ready to defend his passage to a place of safety, or to wherever the Governor-General might be. The Maulvi however was determined to rush to his destruction and answered, "What advice is it you give, and what are you talking about? I am the servant of the Maharajah alone; what have I to say to the English; it is well that they have fled, for the Maharajah is returning victorious to Benares, and I am the man who shall first obey his orders to attack them." His friends, hearing this nonsense, enquired what he meant by it. The Rajah ascribed all his misfortunes to his advice, and it had been proved by the way they had treated Zein-ool-abdeen what hope he had of different treatment; therefore, the only thing to do was to rely on the mercy of God, and while it was yet night to get away as fast as possible.

The Maulvi then took up a stick, and turning them all out of his house, closed the door on their faces: they were thoroughly disgusted at his folly, and all went their way.

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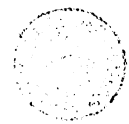
Towards morning he came to his senses, and began to fear for his safety; so cutting off his beard and moustaches, putting the "tilak" on his forehead, and a "jenao" over his shoulder, he disguised himself as a Brahmin; and going to the house of a Brahmin, a friend of his, sat down with a book before him. His property of every sort he abandoned, and whoever liked plundered it.

In the morning Dayaram's men came to his house to seek him; not finding him they took everything they could lay their hands on, and began to search for him in every street and lane; by chance they came upon a servant of his, whom they tortured, until, fearing for his life, he told them where his master was hidden. Accordingly, they surrounded the house of the Brahmin. The Maulvi trying to escape had got upon the wall, but his foot slipping, he fell, and was immediately pounced upon by his enemies as hounds seize a fox; they tied his hands behind his back, and as all knew of his actions towards the Rajah, they beat him with shoes and sticks, pommelled and kicked him to their hearts' content, and who was there among them to take the least heed of his cries for mercy? They then tied a rope round his neck, and so dragged him to a considerable distance. When he was half dead with this treatment, his face was blackened, and he was seated upon an ass, and so sent to Latifpoor. The Rajah there ordered him to be kept under a guard outside the gateway, that every passer-by should beat him with shoes or sticks; and further ordered that a large quantity of salt should be mixed with his food, so that he might taste the difference between his past and present condition.

When the English troops assembled from all sides to attack the Rajah, the Maulvi was sent with other prisoners to Bijyegurh.



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